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Mothers of the Kiez

Values and cultural change in immigrant communities in Neukölln, Berlin

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Tiivistelmä - Referat - Abstract

Sosiaalipolitiikan ja poliittisten käytänteiden tutkimisen ohella arvojen ja moraalin teemat ovat nousseet antropologiseen keskusteluun kuluneen vuosikymmenen aikana. Tutkimuksessa yhdistellään näitä aiheita ja niihin liittyvää teoreettista keskustelua klassisempien antropologisten kysymysten kanssa kulttuurien välisestä vuorovaikutuksesta, muutoksesta sekä kulttuuristen arvojen jatkuvuudesta. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on muodostaa käsitys siitä, miten arvot ja moraalikäsitykset ohjaavat maahanmuuttajanaisten ja heidän yhteisönsä elämää Neuköllnin kaupunginosassa Berliinissä, ja heidän työtään ”kaupunginosaäiteinä” paikallisessa integraatioon tähtäävässä sosiaaliprojektissa.

Tutkimuksen taustalla vaikuttaa hypoteesi, jonka mukaan arvot ja moraali ovat olennaisessa roolissa kulttuurisessa muutoksessa. Teoreettisena viitekehyksenä analyysissä käytetään strukturalistista kulttuurisen muutoksen ja arvojen teoriaa Joel Robbinsilta, Louis Dumontilta ja Marshall Sahlinsilta sekä siihen liittyviä arvojen ja moraalin teorioita Robbinsilta. Erityisesti tarkasteluun otetaan arvojen välinen rakenteellinen suhde, jossa toiset arvot vaikuttavat dominoivampina kuin toiset. Moraalista toimintaa puolestaan katsotaan toisaalta kulttuuria ylläpitävänä toisintana, ja toisaalta kulttuurista murrosta leimaavien vapauden ja päätöksenteon näkökulmasta. Häpeän ja nöryytetyksi tulemisen kokemukset sekä vieraantuminen esitellään tämän teorian viitekehyksessä olennaisina kulttuuriseen muutokseen liittyvinä ilmiöinä.

Tutkimusmenetelminä on käytetty kenttätyönä toteutettua osallistuvaa havainnointia sekä haastatteluita. Aineisto on kerätty kyseisen sosiaaliprojektin arkea havainnoiden ja siihen osallistuen, vuorovaikutuksessa siinä työskentelevien maahanmuuttotaustaisten naisten kanssa. Lisäksi osallistuva havainnointi on pitänyt sisällään paikallisen median seuraamista ja tutustumista Neuköllnin kaupunginosan arkeen. Tutkimusaineistona on seitsemän nauhoitettua, noin tunnin mittaista haastattelua projektissa työskentelevien naisten kanssa sekä kahden projektin ohjaajan kanssa, sekä osallistuvasta havainnoinnista kirjoitettu kenttäpäiväkirja.

Johtopäätöksenä tutkimuksella on hypoteesin paikkansapitävyys. Analyysissä nousee selkeästi esille kulttuuristen arvojen ja käsitteiden tärkeä merkitys maahanmuuttajien jokapäiväisessä elämässä ja päätöksentekoprosesseissa. Naisten kulttuurinen arvomaailma on voimakkaassa roolissa dokumentoidussa integraatioprosessissa, jossa naiset omaksuvat saksalaisen valtakulttuurin arvoja ja käsitteitä. Vaikka heidän maailmankuvansa oli selkeästi muutoksen alaisena, rakentui uusi maailmankuva edellisen pohjalle sen sijaan, että uusi maailmankuva olisi korvannut vanhan täysin. Uudet arvot ja ihanteet olivat muodostuneet osaksi naisten moraalista maisemaa korvaamatta sitä kokonaan. Tämän perusteella vaikuttaisi siltä, että erilaisten arvomaailmojen kohtaaminen ei välttämättä johda konfliktiin, vaan ne saattavat ikäänkuin sulautua yhteen. Tässä prosessissa syntyy myös uudenlaisia merkityksiä, eikä moraalisten maailmojen kohtaamisesta syntynyttä maailmankuvaa voi siksi ajatella yksinkertaisesti näiden kahden summana, vaan jonain uutena.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord - Keywords

kulttuurin muutos, arvot, moraali, integraatio, maahanmuutto, sosiaalipolitiikka, Kaupunginosaäidit, Berliini

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Tiivistelmä - Referat - Abstract

The thesis takes up the current anthropological topics of policy, values and morality, combining them with more classic theoretical discussions on cultural continuity, change and interaction between cultures. The aim of the research is to conceptualize how values and morality structure the lives of immigrant women living in Neulkölln, Berlin, and their work in a "Neighborhood mothers" social integration project. The underlying hypothesis takes values and morality to be significant in understanding cultural change. The structuralist theories on cultural change and values from Joel Robbins, Louis Dumont and Marshall Sahlins provide a theoretical framework for the analysis. In addition, related theories on values and morality from Robbins are applied. The analysis focuses particularly on the structure of value relations in which some values appear as more dominant than other ones. Moral action is studied as a morality of reproduction that maintains cultural continuity and refers to everyday routine activities, and as morality of freedom that is pertinent to times of change, where "tragic" choices are made. The analytical concepts of humiliation and alienation are introduced as crucially linked to the process of cultural change.

The methods used in the study are participant observation conducted in the Neighborhood mothers project and semi-structured interviews. The data was collected by observing and taking part in the work of the women. Participant observation meant following related media reportage and spending time in the borough of Neukölln in order to get to know its everyday life. The interview material consists of seven semi-structured interviews conducted with the women and two of the coordinators of the project as well as fieldnotes.

The study seemed to prove the hypothesis. Cultural values and concepts appeared to have a significant role in the decision-making processes and everyday life of the immigrant women. In the documented integration processes in which immigrants adopt dominant German values and concepts, the traditional cultural values of immigrants were eminent. The transformation in their worldviews that followed, did not simply replace the old worldview with a new one, but instead the new worldview was based on the old one. New values and ideals had become integrated in the women's worldviews without simply replacing the already existing ones. This suggests that an encounter between worldviews does not necessarily lead to a conflict, but the different cosmologies can in a sense merge together. The result is not a simple mix between the two, but something new that has born out of the cultural meanings that the contact between different worldviews has caused.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord - Keywords

cultural change, values and morality, integration, immigration, social policy, Neighbourhood mothers, Berlin

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1 Studying policy making with the Stadtteilmütter of Neukölln

This dissertation combines several threads into a discussion on cultural values as a key feature in interaction between people and institutions with different sociocultural backgrounds. Focusing on a group of immigrant women working in an integration project in Berlin, my discussion moves between different societal levels in order to locate structure and coherence in a situation characterized by cultural change and diversity. Depicting and analysing the types of values articulated by the German policy institutions and public discussions which revolve around immigration and integration on the one hand, and the immigrant women's reactions and interpretations of them on the other hand, my study takes part in the anthropological discussion on cultural change, and values and morality, while at the same time thematically contributing to anthropology of policy and perhaps even urban anthropology. I move on from the obvious observation that societies (also complex western democracies) invest much, both consciously and unconsciously, in protecting and maintaining their cultural continuity and in creating social and moral landscapes that correspond with culturally significant values. (Anderson 2013, 2; Anderson 1983, 49-50). My case study illustrates immigrants' willingness and need to create a meaningful life in their new context, and to integrate into their new sociocultural environment.

Bridget Anderson describes modern states as claiming validity and asserting their borders through a notion of a "community of value" that is comprised of people (citizens), who share "common ideals and (exemplary) patterns of behaviour expressed through ethnicity, religion, culture or language." (2013, 2.) I focus on the scrutiny of how the values that the imagined 'community of value' upholds interact with other cultural values-and-ideas introduced by the influx of goods, concepts and people in the framework of social policy in Berlin.

When I speak about the 'community of value' I refer to an interpretation of the nature of modern societies as compositions of citizens that are organized around common ideas about shared characteristics, values and traditions. This image of a community is constructed in political decision-making and rhetoric, in mainstream media as well as in other public forums such as the educational system. Nationally distributed narratives that concern the community, the nation; its past and future, are vehicles for a fantasy of national unity based on shared values and culture that enables the experience of belonging to a bigger whole on an individual level. This is the basis for a claim of one

“German culture” that ideally would be shared by all the members of society. When I talk about dominant German values or culture, I refer to this assertive strand of German culture. In his classic study on nationalism Benedict Anderson writes that nationalities and nationalism are cultural artefacts of a kind (2006 [1983], 48.) Instead of describing societies, such narratives invent them. This however does not mean that the feelings of belonging and unity would be less real or influential. My research reveals how an idea of a community of value and the ideals it entails concretely influence the lives of the immigrant women I studied as well as the making of social policy.

I pay attention to the ways in which the immigrant women interact with ideas about a community of value that the policy institutions and other societal actors mediate, and make them their own - or as sometimes is the case, reject or resist them. There is a kind of cultural change inherent in the abstract sociopolitical idea of integration that, at least when viewed from a bottom-up perspective, appears absurd, but at the same time charged with meaning and moral arguments that reflect certain values that are held important by the institutions and the political actors. I will examine the values and ideas that influence policy-making in the German context. I will also scrutinize the practice of policy-making as a field of contestation, where different opposing values are negotiated and become thus visible for anthropological study. This makes the concept an anthropologically important subject of study in the attempt to theorize about cultural change as well as values and morality.

The perspective I take is influenced by structuralist theoretical ideas from Dumont, Robbins and Sahlins. As Robbins and Siikala point out (2014), Dumont's work is “...concerned with the kinds of cultural changes that follow from clashes between important cultural values ...and how these clashes followed from what he called the “interaction” between cultures.” (2014, 122-123.) It is precisely Dumont's emphasis on values that I find most useful in my analysis. In line with Siikala and Robbins (2014), I believe that Dumont's theory of cultural change provides a useful analytical tool to the study of contemporary cultural encounters. Joel Robbins' studies on cultural change and values as well as Marshall Sahlins' structuralist theories of change are also applied in my analysis. My hypothesis is that the interaction between the women and the institution can be studied as a process of cultural change that is marked by a negotiation between different sets of values and ideals. Understanding the ontological premises of a sociocultural system of classification (such as the one applied in policy making) is

crucial to understanding the ways in which different actors experience it and react to it. I will investigate whether, and how, the set of values that guides 'integration' in policy making differs from the ways in which the women themselves understand integration and 'good life', and how these different values that guide policy making interact with each other, creating a social space characterized by cultural change.

How the immigrant women working in the project experience their life and position in relation to the values and concepts of the community of value is the main question around which my argumentation is constructed. To understand the trajectories that shape policy making and set limitations to the women's work, we must look at the interaction between political culture, politics of culture and the grass-roots policy practices that affect the local community. In the practice of policy the needs of local residents collide with political desires in a way that presents an interesting point of entry for analysis, which is precisely where my focus lies. By focusing on the women and their experiences, my analysis takes the project's glossed media image that depicts a successful pilot project, which recognizes the women's subjectivity and agency under scrutiny, to see how it corresponds with the lived reality of the policy work and the subjective meanings that the women attach to it. I would like to assert that rather than taking on the values and ideals propagated by the policy institutions and political discussions related to immigrants, they often adopt some ideas but reject others, and might make their own interpretations of them and create new concepts as a result.

My study addresses two aspects of policy making that I came to understand as particularly important in relation to my case study during my fieldwork: these are firstly the social categorizations that policy-making produces, maintains and enacts, and secondly the alienation that the residents of Neukölln expressed in relation to the institutional culture with which they interact. In relation to borders between "us" and "them" and practices of citizenship, Bridget Anderson writes that rather than reflecting social status these practices produce them (2013, 2.) In a similar manner, Haci-Halil Uslucan states that perceived distance between immigrants and Germans is not an inherent quality of the immigrants' culture but a definition of a relationship (2012, 9.) The subject matter is not a static categorization, but a negotiated relationship between different ethnic groups.

My study of the empirical world of my informants is theoretically inspired by Michael Taussig's (1980) analysis of South American peasants' reactions to commodity fetishism introduced to them through their incorporation into the capitalist system of wage labour. In a very similar way as the peasants studied by Taussig, the immigrants living in Neukölln also express feelings of alienation and a somewhat mystified interpretation of the economic and political ideologies that influence their everyday life and work. (Taussig 1980, xv). My epistemological approach takes values to be crucial to the lives of people, both on an individual and collective level. Through the analysis of values we can learn about the meanings that guide human behaviour and conception of reality. Values culminate in two kinds of moral behaviour: the kind where a person is less aware of the values guiding routine life, and the kind that becomes visible in conflict situations, where people would make consciously moral decisions and have to choose between different conflicting values. I will look into these different situations of morality in my analysis.

The integration project is called *Stadtteilmütter* and it has achieved an exceptionally high amount of publicity and recognition both nationally and internationally. It has been evaluated and reviewed by several policy experts including Colini and Tripodi (2012), Dunger-Löper (2009), Moloney and Kirchberger (2010) and Brantley et al. (2009). The concept of the project has been considered a success, and it has been used as a model in several German cities as well as in France. One social scientific reference to the project comes from Rothberg and Yildiz (2011) in their discussion on the concept of multidirectional memory and the ways in which minority groups engage with hegemonic memory discourses in Germany. Michael Rothberg continues this discussion of the women's work in relation to German memory culture in his article “Multidirectional Memory in Migratory Settings: The Case of Post-Holocaust Germany” (2014). I will introduce these studies in chapter two. A more critical account is made by Schreiber and Marquardt from the field of Urban Geography. In their article “Mothering urban space, governing migrant women: the construction of intersectional positions in area-based interventions in Berlin” (2015), the scholars discuss critically how migrant populations are governed through an implementation of social policies. Despite the amount of interest the project has attracted, an anthropological inquiry can add to the already existing body of research in several ways as well as further develop

the anthropological discourse on policy, integration, immigration and multiculturalism in Europe.

I see an anthropological approach to studying policy as important for its wide scope and ability to analyse how meaning is symbolically constructed on different societal levels that nevertheless are in interaction. Anthropological policy analysis reveals much more than simply whether a project has reached its goals. After all, policy is all about the things that are found in the core of anthropological expertise such as: "institutions and power; interpretation and meaning; ideology, rhetoric, and discourse; the politics of culture, ethnicity, and identity; and the global and the local" as Janine R. Wedel puts it (1999; 694-695.) Although I invest much energy in drawing a picture of the political situation, my intention is not simply to understand the political culture and the practices of the project, but to give an ethnographic account on the lives of the people working in the project and the social and cultural setting in which and with which they work.

At the time of starting my fieldwork, I did not yet have any specific theoretical approach to my inquiry. I wanted to encounter the reality of the *Stadtteilmütter* project with an open mind instead of letting my observations be strongly guided by any particular theory, which I thought might mislead my interpretations or too strongly guide my focus. Although I apply a relatively theoretical approach to the scrutiny of my research data, the applied theory serves as a tool for structuring my analysis and conceptualizing my understanding of the work of the women, as well as bringing my discussion together with related anthropological discourses, rather than guiding my initial approach. Hence, I do not simply apply theory to practice, but let my reading of theory be likewise informed by practice.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: in this chapter I proceed to introduce my case study; the field, my methods and research ethics as well as formulate my research questions more thoroughly. In the next chapter I contextualize my topic by giving an account on the anthropological study of policy and the development of policy making, as well as on the German context with a focus on how cultural and/or ethnic diversity and ideas about multiculturalism and integration have been discussed and dealt with in the country. In chapter three, I outline my theoretical framework and the approach that arises from it. I look into the structuralist approach to the study of cultural encounters and cultural change and the concepts of humiliation and alienation in relation to it. After

that, I discuss values and morality. Chapters four and five focus on the immigrants' experiences and expressions of identity and belonging, and the outcomes and reactions to intercultural encounters that they articulated. In chapter four, I focus on the processes of cultural change that result from interaction between cultural values, focusing on experiences of humiliation and alienation. In chapter five, I look at what kinds of values and ideals this situation has created, and how the women conceptualize 'good life' using concepts that combine traditional cultural elements and the ideas that they are introduced to in Germany. In chapter six, I conclude the main points of my discussion and suggest possible courses for further study. I will also shortly make a note about the applicability of the knowledge produced.

1.1 The Field

I conducted my six-month fieldwork, starting in early 2014, in the district of Neukölln in Berlin. Neukölln has been much present in public discourses as the home of foreigners, immigrants and guest workers. The district is mostly discussed in relation to negative aspects of immigration such as ghettoization, islamization, the inability of immigrants to integrate, formation of “parallel societies”, economic and social deprivation, crime and the like. The neighbourhood lives up to the expectations of foreignness that the discourses built up. Turkish markets, Turkish, Lebanese, Sudanese and other “ethnic” restaurants and cafes are abundant. Stores selling colourful Arabic style clothing and accessories; furniture and household equipment for the “oriental” taste are to be found between the Turkish bank, Turkish travel agency, Mosque, and a Shisha lounge. These first impressions confirm the reputation of the district as the least German neighbourhood in Berlin, and perhaps all of Germany. (Wroe and Michaelson 2010). Despite the non-German characteristics of the area, there is a lot of “Germanness” to be found too. A traditional German “Bierstube” is not a rare sight in Neukölln and the German supermarkets and retail chain stores along with German banks and administrative buildings exist side by side with the 'ethnic' businesses and cultural pluralism.

Neukölln is the eighth of Berlin's twelve boroughs. Located in the south-eastern part of the city it is with its over 320,000 inhabitants one of the most populous and densely populated of Berlin’s districts. According to recent statistics, 134,000 of Neukölln’s inhabitants are considered “Germans with migration background, or foreigners”, which accounts for some 40% of the district’s population. (Bezirksamt Neukölln 2014). The

biggest and most visible group of immigrants are the Turkish, who form the largest ethnic minority in Germany. The Turks were also amongst the first immigrants to enter the country as guest workers in the decades following the Second World War. The amount of guest workers to West Germany increased especially after the wall separating East and West was built, because West Germany had been relying on East-German work force that now was no longer available. Guest workers came from the economically weaker countries; Italy (an agreement was made in 1955), Spain and Greece (agreement from 1960) and Turkey (Guest worker agreement ratified 1961) and the following years from Tunis, Morocco, Portugal and Yugoslavia. (Goddar and Huneke 2011, 9-16).

Later in the 1980s, asylum seekers and refugees from conflict areas started to arrive in the country too. One such group were Kurds from Turkey. From the 1980s onwards, the issue of immigration became increasingly politicized and ideological, which was further aggravated by the unification of the two German states in 1990. The anti-immigration sentiments culminated in a wave of right-wing violence directed at the country's ethnic minorities. (Ibid., 22-23). Although the *Stadtteilmütter* groups are diverse, they reflect the total number of immigrants from different countries, Turkish being by far the biggest group. In Neukölln, besides the Turkish, immigrants from the Middle East and different parts of Africa are particularly visible. Another relatively big, but less visible group are the Polish.

Berlin's boroughs are subdivided into several neighbourhoods or *Kieze*[1] (as they are called in Berlin). These are city neighbourhoods with which their respective inhabitants strongly identify[2]. The different neighbourhoods are thus socially defined and do not necessarily coincide with administrative divisions. The concept of *Kiez* is relevant to my study, due to the identifications and social spaces it refers to that are essential to the way the people I have interviewed structure their universe. I state this, because in the course of my fieldwork I noticed how my informants were very explicit about the *Kiez* in which they live. Most of them said that they would not consider moving away from Neukölln in the future even if something would significantly change in their living situation. Some of them gave accounts on the historical development of the district in a very personal, almost biographical manner, which revealed a strong sense of belonging and identification with the neighbourhood. In the wake of more bottom-up public policy

1 I will write all German nouns with a capital letter through out the thesis, which is the grammatically correct way in German. ”Kieze” is the plural form of the singular: ”Kiez”.
2 The meaning can be considered somewhat similar to the English “hood”, although *Kiez* would be more widely used by different segments of society

strategies, the concept has been increasingly acknowledged also in policy making as is the case in the *Stadtteilmütter* project.

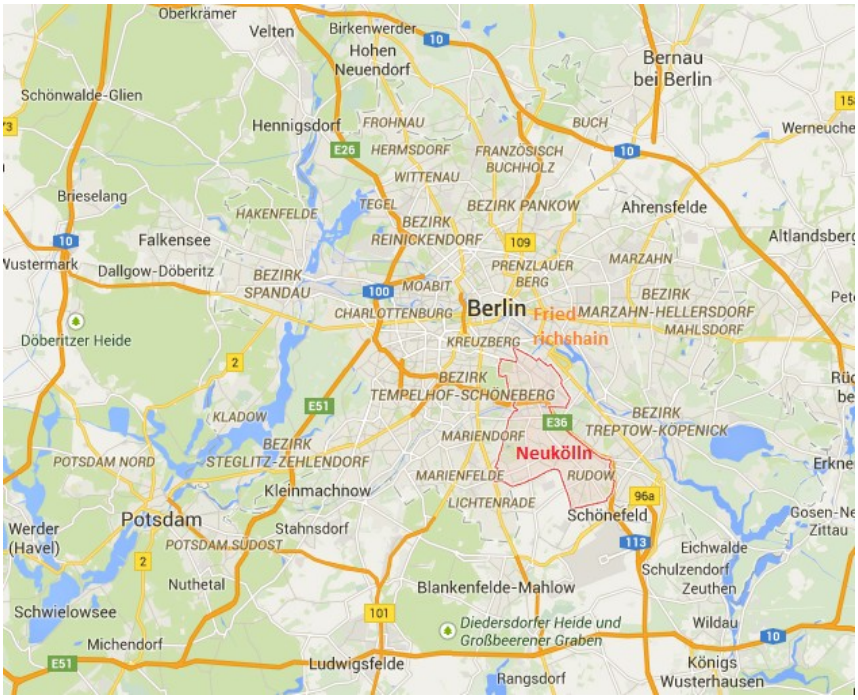

Image 1: the Borough of Neukölln (Google Maps Data 2015).

Image 2: Schillerkiez, Neukölln (Google Maps Data 2015).

In a national *Soziale Stadt* (eng. social city) campaign[3] Berlin has been assigned several *Quartiersmanagements* (eng. neighbourhood managements). The aim here has been to develop specific services and policy practices sensitive to the local context in areas that are identified as "problematic". Neukölln alone has eleven neighbourhood management offices (the highest amount out of all of Berlin's boroughs, some of which have none).

3 The social city campaign was modeled against a general European trend of neighbourhood-specific policy projects developed in several European countries since the 1980s, see Quartiersmanagement, Berlin: Soziale Stadt programmem and BMUB: Soziale Stadt programme.

Berlin's neighbourhood management describes problematic neighbourhoods as having: “insufficient infrastructure, stagnating economy, increasing vacancy of both residential property and commercial premises, high unemployment rate and rate of residents dependent on government benefits, high number of foreigners and residents with migration background, families and employed and high-income households moving out of the area (segregation)” (Quartiersmanagement, Berlin.) Neukölln’s neighbourhood management offices are found in the following *Kieze*: Donaustraße-Nord, Flughafenstraße, Ganghoferstraße, High-Deck-Siedlung / Sonnenallee, Körnerpark, Lipschitzallee / Gropiusstadt, Reuterplatz, Richardplatz-Süd, Rollbergviertel, Schillerpromenade, Weiße Siedlung Dammweg. (see Quartiersmanagement, Berlin). The city blocks surrounding Schillerpromenade known as *Schillerkiez* is where I conducted most of my participant observation and where most of my informants are active.

In my fieldwork I focused on a social project called *Stadtteilmütter* (eng. district or neighbourhood mothers), active in Neukölln. It originally started as part of the social city initiative in 2004 (the first two years were a pilot phase after which the decision was made to keep the project running and to further develop it), the project was developed as a response to the wish for a more parent-oriented integration programme for immigrant families, articulated by the neighbourhood management at Schillerkiez. The aim of the project is to address social problems encountered by the immigrant population by engaging the parents in communal life, especially in the lives of their children, through diverse methods of education and support. By working with the parents, the project specifically hopes to attend to the younger children of (in particular Turkish and Arabic) immigrant families not yet in school. The project is based on an idea that social problems are often complex and involve all the members and generations of a (extended) family, and that this is so particularly amongst immigrants. The problem that has been located, is engaging the parents in dialogues about existing problems in their families as well as developing pre-emptive methods, as the Project coordinator, Maria told me. (Interview 6).

The policy discourse articulated by the policy institutions, media coverage of the project, and the aforementioned reviews of the project emphasize the importance of the parents’ integration into the wider German society. Here integration refers to learning about the German educational system, health care system, different social security

services, the bureaucratic system involved in applying for citizenship, linguistic integration, as well as learning about German culture, history etc. In addition to linguistic competence, one thing is emphasized above all the others: employment. In the field, I detected a strong ideology of work at play in the way the policy project was framed by the project coordinators who seemed to understand integration into the economy to be synonymous with social and cultural integration. This was also strongly emphasized in a speech that the Bezirksbürgermeister (Mayor of Neukölln) Heinz Buschkowsky held in one of the *Stadtteilmütter's* co-operation agreement ceremonies. In his speech he encouraged the women to raise their children to be "*erfolgreich"* (successful), and to "go far in life". He used his own family as an example, underlinig how his own parents did a good job raising him to become a 'good citizen' and more importantly, a very successful one. He emphasized the role the parents have as role models. Children have to be integrated through education and employment, and the parents have to show them that working is fun. (Fieldnotes 7.5.2014).

On a general note, the project's managers consider integration to be essential for the parents' ability to provide their children with good upbringing, and for the family to avoid possible conflicts resulting from a lack of cultural understanding. In the programme, but also in the more general public discussions on integration[4], cultural differences are treated as a potential cause for an array of conflicts both inside the family as well as between different population groups. The partially tacit fear seems to be that parents (who are seen as living outside of the German society) will pass on worldviews, customs, language and lifestyles incompatible with the German context. In addition to this, as Rothberg and Yildiz discuss in their 2011 study on German memory culture, the mothers also proactively create innovative ways of participation in the wider society for example through engagement with Germany's past. (Rothberg & Yildiz 2011, 39).

The project is financed by several different sources, but today a majority of the funding comes from *JobCenter,* the State's administrative institution for employment issues. Though not an unemployment project as such, being registered as unemployed at the moment of application is required of the women. This further highlights the underlying ideology of work that guides much of policy making in Germany. All the women are

4 With "the more general discussions on integration" I refer to media discourses and political discussions on the issue that I was following when living in Berlin during my fieldwork. Due to the large number of sources and the very mainstream nature of this discussion I do not reference particular sources here. There would be too many. I will discuss how the concept of integration is perceived in these discussions more precisely in chapter two.

mothers (some already grandmothers) in their private lives, as illustrated by the name of the programme, which is also one of the requirements. In addition, to qualify, a woman needs to be over 35 years old and "non-German" in ethnic terms.[5] The women are not allowed to work with German families and German women can participate only if they are married to and have children with an immigrant. The women go through six months of training during which they are evaluated based on their language skills, ability to learn, motivation and general suitability for working in the project. The training period culminates in a *Kooperationsvereinbarung* where the mothers who have successfully completed the training receive a license for working in the programme.

All the women working in the *Stadtteilmütter* have regular appointments at the *JobCenter* where their work is evaluated and their future in the project is discussed. The maximum time a woman can work in the programme without disruption is three years. The project in itself is also periodically evaluated by the state institutions and local administration which it relies on for funding and other resources, and its future is decided every two years by these institutions.

1.2 Practice of the mothers' work

The *Stadtteilmütter* project follows a ten-point programme designed to address social problems typical of Neukölln. The programme was developed by Maria Macher, the project coordinator, together with other people working at the local "Beratungsstellen" (advice center) and the Diakonie. These ten themes are 1) bilingual education; 2) day nurseries and the German educational system; 3) children's rights; 4) preventive healthcare; 5) nutrition; 6) physical development; 7) sexual development and education; 8) addiction prevention; 9) German media; and 10) household safety[6]. The methods used by the women to reach their target group as well as getting their message across are variable. The participants advertise the project at local schools, playgrounds, shopping centres, health-care centres, kindergartens, mosques and other public places by handing out informational leaflets and talking directly to people. They also use their social networks in spreading the word and identifying individuals and families that are in need of their support, as well as informing potential future *Stadtteilmütter* about the programme. In addition, the women also create and take part in different communal

5 Whether a person is an "immigrant" is not determined by their nationality or mother tongue, but ethnicity. Thus a second or third generation German, who has Turkish roots would be considered a person with migration background, which in a sense is very close to the social categories of a "foreigner" or a "migrant".

6 Translations taken from: http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/35-stadtteilmutter-approaching-integration-through-education-in-berlin-neukolln

events, and they have an office at Neukölln's *Rathaus*, (administrative building for the borough of Neukölln, something similar to a town hall), although they are there only as "guests", for the women do not work directly under the local political administration, but for *Diakonie,* Germany's evangelic Christian institution for social work.

Although a project of the Diakonie, the *Stadtteilmütter* programme functions as an implementation of the more general integration policy in the city and needs to be understood as part of the larger framework of Berlin's social policy (Brantley et al. 2009.) The project does not only link to the wider integration policy of Berlin or Germany but it is also situated in the wider framework of integration policy on EU level. In fact, the social city initiative was a direct response to a call from EU for regional development programmes, and part of its financing comes from Brussels (see Quartiersmanagement, Berlin). This does not, however, diminish the fact that the women are working in a relatively "Christian" environment. The main guidelines, principles and values that the Diakonie holds important are faithful to those of evangelical Christianity. This means that the women interact not plainly with German cultural ideals, but precisely the Christian interpretation of them. This is in no way surprising taken the long history that Christian institutions have in providing social services to the "weaker" segments of society, and the increasing outsourcing of functions and services that used to belong to the Welfare State, transacted by the (neo-)liberal State.

The concrete help is mostly carried out in the form of what the women call *Thementisch* and *Familienbegleitung.* Directly translated, Thementisch means "topic table" - a gathering to talk about a particular topic that affects the lives of families, always determined by one of the ten themes in the mother's programme. The Thementisch events take place in communal institutions such as kindergartens and neighbourhood cafés. Events are advertised in the community and those interested have the opportunity to learn more about the topic, ask for advice and share their personal experiences in the group discussion. The mothers give advice to the people who are affected by the topic and help tackle the problem. For example, past Thementisch topics have been "healthy diet and 'the sugar game': How much sugar does each product contain?" (14.10.2014) and "Swearing: how should parents deal with it?" (10.12.2013) organized at the evangelical family center Debora.

Familienbegleitung (accompanying a family and/or monitoring a family) means that the women who work in the project take part in solving problems encountered by a family by visiting the family home. All the families are visited by the participants ten times, and all the above mentioned ten themes of the programme are discussed during these meetings. There is no particular rule about who should be present during these meetings. The mothers told me that sometimes it is only one member of the family, sometimes only the parents, but often also the children and even grandparents take part. Family members are present during the visits according to the interest they have for the topic that will be discussed (for example healthy diet or addiction). The women explained that when they detect a particular problem present in the family they are visiting, they make efforts to engage specifically those members of the family who it concerns the most. The mothers said that this can sometimes be hard, especially in cases of 'problem' teenagers or addiction, for example, because in such cases it is often the individual who “causes” the problems in the household who refuses to take part in the meetings or to acknowledge the problem and engage in solving it. When the women make their visits they use materials they have gathered on each topic and the skills and knowledge they have learned in the training as resources. The materials they have are such as informational flyers, info charts and games that help them to explain the topic of the meeting and to illustrate the main points more concretely.

Normally the women get relatively well acquainted with at least one member of the family before making house visits because of the personal nature. They get to know the families in the *Kiez* at public events, at the schools and kindergartens, or for example at the local supermarket. Mostly the participants visit people with whom they share the same mother language, but there is no rule to this, and they might also visit families from other ethnic groups. Many of them also speak several other languages in addition to their mother tongue and German, and use these language skills as a resource in their work. For example one of the women I met spoke Serbian, Turkish and some Polish in addition to her two mother tongue languages: Romanian and German.

The *Stadtteilmütter* also accompany the families in the role of translators or advisers when needed, helping the families in getting the right kind of help, filling in paperwork, researching information and so forth. Besides these two methods, the mothers also actively participate in neighbourhood events and organize different kinds of family events themselves, such as the multilingual *Bilderbuchkino* and other *Nachbarschaft*

actions like the cooking evening at the community center and café, *Warthe Mahl*, where I also participated. The women are recognized in Neukölln from the red scarves they wear as their trademark.

Image 3: Cooking evening at the Warthe-Mahl (Stadtteilmütter 2014).

The *Stadtteilmütter* described their work as very important especially for those members of society that lack sufficient language skills and education, and hence "do not leave their home". They expressed particular concern about parents who do not know how to raise their children well, but are unable to receive consultation due to their lack of "integration" that leads to alienation from society and inability to utilize the existing services provided by the city and civil society. One of the women emphasized to me that some mothers for example "give cookies and ice tea to their children" without knowing that sugar is harmful to them. This woman explained to me that she also used to do such things because she did not know better, but in the project she has learned a lot about such things as a healthy diet, and gathered valuable information, which she is now eager to pass on.

Image 4: Cooking evening at the Warthe-Mahl (Stadtteilmütter 2014).

All in all, the women take a very practical approach to their work and role in the community addressing issues like keeping the public playgrounds clean and helping families find practical solutions to problems such as bed-wetting, infantile colic, skipping school etc. In the weekly team meetings the women discuss issues encountered by the families they work with. They use personal experiences or experiences from people close to them as examples to draw from, in addition to the information they have learned in the training. In the discussions I observed, the women shared very private and emotional stories with each other in order to solve the problems of a family. Empathy and solidarity seemed to play a big role in facilitating their work, and through their personal experiences the women were able to relate to one another and to the family struggling with the issue. Discussing the problems together, trying to find solutions for them and sharing experiences helped to conceptualize the issues at hand, and find a practical approach to handling them. Furthermore, these discussions seemed important in the creation of a team spirit and in negotiating the different viewpoints of the mothers, who come from very different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. By interacting with each other and working together, the participants share their different views and values, and learn about each others' cultures.

Image 5: The Schillerkiez Stadtteilmütter at their weekly team meeting at the Elternzentrum at Oderstrasse (Stadtteilmütter 2014).

1.3 Fieldwork and methods

I conducted my fieldwork from late February till early autumn of 2014, though I had a break during the summer. I started concretely preparing the fieldwork in early 2014. My interest in the project had been already invoked some time earlier when reading about it from the study of Michael Rothberg and Yasemin Yildiz (2011). After quite a long period of general contemplation and background research I sent out first e-mails to the project's coordinators on 12.3.2014. The most active time of my fieldwork was from April to the first half of June - all the interviews where conducted during this time frame. The months before and after this time period, I mostly spent following media reportage, watching related films, reading relevant literature, 'hanging out' in Neukölln and researching for information online.

The women lead a hectic schedule (they work approximately 30 hours a week) and getting in touch with the organization, and finding time for interviews posed a problem in the beginning. E-mails were sent back and forth before I was able to “convince” the project manager, Maria, to let me do my fieldwork in the project. The reasons for hesitation given to me in the beginning was a lack of capacity to have someone present learning about the project. After explaining that I did not need much assistance, I was invited to meet the women. Tülay, Schillerkiez's team leader, helped me greatly in organizing and scheduling the interviews. I am also grateful for the warm welcome I

received at the Schillerkiez team, as well as for the opportunity to observe their meetings and take part in their events.

In addition to free-flowing discussions with the women and other people in Neukölln I conducted seven semi-structured interviews. In total, I interviewed 16 of the women working in the project, including the project manager and the team leader of the Schillerkiez team. Only three of the interviews, the ones with Tülay (leader of the Schillerkiez team), Maria (the project coordinator) and one of the mothers, were conducted ”one-on-one”. The rest were group interviews, where I interviewed two or more women at a time. I interviewed Turkish, Kurdish (from different countries), Lebanese, Tunisian, Brazilian, Indian, Polish, Hungarian and Serbian mothers, and also got to know women from several other ethnic groups. Most of the participants are between 35 and 45 years old. They are all either born in Germany or have already lived in the country for over a decade. Although there are relatively big differences between the levels of German the women speak, some of them being native speakers and others speaking German as a third or even fourth language, communication in German is not a problem for any of them, and thus all the interviews were conducted in this language.

The mothers who were not born in Germany gave different reasons for migration. Some have come to the country as guest workers, others as refugees and some to study, many also came because of family reasons. The *Stadtteilmütter* groups thus are comprised of people from very different ethnic, cultural, religious, economic and social backgrounds. Those women who were born in Germany, are mostly children of “guest workers”, who came to work in the growing industry of West Germany in 1960s.

Instead of stiff, formal-feeling situations with awkward silences, the interviews turned out to be like conversations on a mutually interesting topic. The interviews lasted approximately a bit over one hour each and the covered topics ranged from the personal backgrounds of the women, their motivations to work as *Stadtteilmütter*, the everyday life of the *Kiez* and their work, to the participants’ opinions about public representations of immigrants and Neukölln. Despite the fact that the women’s work is continuously a target of external curiosity and assessment, the mothers seemed to take pleasure in talking about their work, personal lives, families and the district they live in.

I think that being a foreigner myself, and speaking imperfect German with an accent, facilitated the interview situations because it probably made it easier for them to relate

to me and vice versa, hence creating an atmosphere of mutual trust. Another helping factor might have been my gender and age. Since I am a young "foreign" girl in a "strange" environment, many of the women made references to their own personal history and reflected on memories they have from their adolescent years and early twenties. Those women who have children close to my age were really excited about the idea of me being acquainted with them.

Concretely 'being in the field' meant taking part in the women's weekly meetings, participating in events organized by them, visiting them at their office and generally making myself familiar with the work they do, by means of talking with the mothers and observing the materials they use as well as the information they give out about the project. I also spent a majority of the time actively observing life in the district and popular representations of Neukölln circulating in the society. In Neukölln, I was in constant interaction with the residents of the area. I chatted with taxi drivers, made acquaintances with shop keepers, waiters, and the girls working in a corner bakery close to the Rathaus. These people are, if you will, the 'ordinary' people of Neukölln, who form the target group of the *Stadtteilmütter* project. More than just residents or targets of policy, they are also the mothers' family members, neighbours, hair dressers and shop keepers, entangled in different kinds of relationships with other members of the community in which they live and work.

In addition to active fieldwork I have so-called 'passive' field experience from Neukölln gathered in the course of the past couple of years. I have lived in Neukölln in two different parts of the district[7]. While living there, I became increasingly aware of the negatively connoted reputation the district has after observing the reactions some of my German friends and acquaintances had when I told them where I lived. As I interpreted it, they thought of Neukölln as dangerous, dirty and chaotic, a hub of crime, and most of all foreign. This attitude was expressed in multiple ways: For example in remarks and comments such as "do you think it's safe for a blonde girl to live there?" or "it's so smelly and dirty over there". These accounts describe a fear of the foreign, an uneasiness about the different ways of life that immigrants have brought with them that appear as strange and illogical to the German observer. A feeling of a lack of control is portrayed in the metaphor of chaos. Maybe also the reversed experience of being "different" that the German individuals experience in "ethnic" neighbourhoods could

7 First in what is generally thought of as the "Arabic" part (close to Sonnenallee) in 2010 and 2011, and later in the "Turkish" part (close to Boddinstraße Station) of the area in 2012.

explain the negative associations people make of Neukölln. In this context individuals who perhaps never were consciously aware of their membership of the community of value suddenly experience exclusion and what it feels like to be an "outsider" in the midst of their home city.

Such opinions about Neukölln are most often glossed over as jokes. Also imitating the "Turkish accent" seems to be of high popularity even among people who would never identify themselves as racists. And indeed, as anthropologist Ruth Mandel notes in her extensive study on citizenship and belonging among Berlin's Turkish population, language does play a major role in the construction of images of, and attitudes towards certain population groups in Berlin. (Mandel 2008, 200-205.) Hence, it is also no wonder that the project manager of the *Stadtteilmütter* emphasized to me that integration starts with linguistic competence. (Interview 6.)

I did not live in Neukölln during my actual fieldwork. The differences between Neukölln and other parts of Berlin became more obvious and visible to me when not living there. Cycling from the alternative but very *German* Friedrichshain through the quiet Treptow to the scents, colours and sounds of Neukölln was an interesting journey to make every time. Neukölln's cheap but good bakeries, the smell of Shisha and the Turkish supermarkets with impressive selections of spices, fruits and vegetables have been sorely missed when living in other areas. The mixture of cultures, languages and most of all of people of different ages, gender and origin is definitely characteristic of Neukölln and an essential part of the district's *genius loci*.

Despite (or perhaps partly because of) Neukölln's bad reputation, but most of all due to its relatively central location in the changing geography of Berlin, a process of gentrification is taking its toll especially in the northern parts of the borough (particularly in "Kreuzkölln", an area located between Kreuzberg and Neukölln), where it is becoming increasingly trendy and popular among alternative people, expats[8], artists and students, who bring the hip *Szene* with its cafés, bars, and art galleries to the area. Attracted by the low rents and shabbiness, the newcomers cause the rents to rise and the

8 With the term "expat" I refer to individuals from western countries who have moved to Berlin in search of a new home or to collect new experiences. The expat community, with which I am also well acquainted, has found Berlin attractive because of the relatively peripheral status it has in comparison to other European capital cities. Berlin is "Arm aber sexy" (poor but sexy). The prices are as low as in Eastern Europe, and due to the underdeveloped nature of the city, cheap atelier spaces, gallery spaces and the like are available for a fragment of the price of other major European or American metropolises. I have chosen to call these people expats because this is how they humorously refer to themselves and how they are often referred to in Berlin. The Expat community is represented in Berlin by the city's largest English speaking magazine: the exberliner <www.exberliner.com>.

prices in general are ascending. In her ethnography, Mandel gives a detailed account on how Kreuzberg, a home to a relatively high number of guest workers and other immigrants, was pictured in popular imagination as a peripheral place, chaotic and foreign in the 1980s. The fall of the Berlin wall radically changed the boroughs' geographical status, and started a gentrification development very similar to the one we can detect in Neukölln today. (Mandel 2008, 141). This development pushes the lower class residents of Neukölln southwards, where the prices are still reasonable, creating various kinds of tensions between different segments of the population in the area. Hostility is tangible especially between working-class Berliners, their immigrant neighbours and the wealthy Western expats, and South and West German incomers (See for example in Finnish: Rajamäki 2014 in *Helsingin Sanomat*, in English: Shea 2013 in *Vice* or in German: Holm 2014 in *Gentrification Blog*).

Although some segments of society, in particular the young, trendy, alternative and creative, are attracted to Neukölln, the majority would refuse to even walk in the borough after dark, not to mention moving in the area. Negative images people have of Neukölln are directly linked to images constructed in the German media as well as in political rhetoric, as we will come to see in my later discussion.

1.4 Research ethics

For the sake of research ethics and consistency all the people interviewed will remain anonymous with the exception of Maria, the project leader and Tülay, the team leader of Schillerkiez's *Stadtteilmütter* group. I have decided not to use names at all for the other women. In the field the *Stadtteilmütter* were referred to, and they also referred to each other and themselves as "Frauen" or "Mütter" ("women" or "mothers"), I will do the same throughout the thesis. I will also use the terms "neighbourhood mothers" or its German equivalent "*Stadtteilmütter"*. Stadtteilmütter group and Stadtteilmütter project, will sometimes be referred as simply "group", "project" or "programme".

I will send the dissertation to be reviewed by Tülay before its final submission. I decided to write the thesis in English so that it is accessible for a wider audience, in particular to the women themselves. Albeit not all of the women speak English, I hope that those who do are able to translate it to the others that may be interested. I am not giving the women any editorial rights, but in case I have made factual errors or misunderstood something, I will hear their feedback and correct the flaws accordingly.

1.5 Research questions and approach

The public discussions and tensions surrounding Neukölln mentioned earlier reveal something essential about dynamics between different population groups that relate to the issue of the community of value in Germany. Collective identity, an affiliation or feeling of belonging to a bigger social whole that is based on shared values, culture, heritage and lifestyles, is created in relation to otherness. This often leads to stereotypical ways of thinking about the "others" who are in some essential way different from "us". This kind of objectification, as for example Edward Said (1987, 15) and Lila Abu-Lughod (2002) point out, results in a mystified and static image of the "other", which reveals worldviews of the in-group rather than the qualities of the out-group. On the other hand, also rigid images of "us" are created especially in more conservative ways of thinking about the traditional national culture. An example of such a view is conservative political rhetoric that aims at safeguarding traditions and traditional values against the corrupt force of new and/or outside influences. In such views, aspects of the community of value are portrayed in a normative way as objectified cultural customs, that are seen as static. That is, things that are real or natural and that cannot and should not be altered. Change is feared particularly because it is seen as a threat to the shared values of the community. (Anderson 2013, 11).

Benedict Anderson writes that "in an anthropological spirit ...I propose the following definition of nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." (2006 [1983], 5-6.) This means that according to Anderson no nation sees itself as universal, as including all the human beings on this planet. With the sovereignty of imagined communities he means that only the nation itself can execute power within its borders. In the circulating discourses of the community of value both the rhetoric of belonging as well as exclusion are created. Furthermore, in a pluralistic society[9] such as Germany, social ordering is based on attributes such as language skills, ethnicity, social class, country of origin, gender and occupation. Social categories that determine inclusion and exclusion and states of 'in between' are created in relation to such attributes (Anderson 2013, 5-7; Marx 2002.) The social categorizations reflect the values that the community of value holds important.

Particularly important in relation to the scrutiny of social policy practices in the case of the *Stadtteilmütter* project are the dynamics between those ethnic minorities that are a

9 Here society refers to all the people living within certain borders i.e. inhabiting a particular geographical area and together forming a legal entity that is under the scope of a state.

target of social policy and the German majority as represented by its political and economic institutions that despite the growth of immigrant economies and institutions (Nederveen Pieterse 2000) still hold the key to the chest of resources, funding and political leverage in particular. It is meaningful to ask, how do the women experience the categories created and maintained in policy making? How do they react to stereotypes reflected and constructed in the policy discourse? And what kind of a situation is created by the coalition of the cosmology underlying these categorizations and the reactions that the women have toward them that stem from their respective cultural backgrounds and everyday experiences of their life in Germany?

General attitudes towards foreignness, cultural and linguistic diversity and ethnic plurality are reflected in public discussions about Neukölln and culminate in concrete action in various ways. It is worth mentioning that not everything counts as “foreign”, “ethnic” or “culturally different”. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1993, 6-9), Ruth Mandel (2008, 95) and Nederveen Pieterse (2000) point out, these categorizations refer to groups of people significantly different in appearance and manners. Also economic status is a major factor in determining who is excluded or inferior. The 'concrete action' I mention, can mean action on an individual level such as the remarks about Neukölln I have described, but action also takes place on a political and institutional level in the form of policy making. Moreover, it is important to address the correlation between the two, as I intend to do in chapter two.

As observed by Cris Shore, the analytical problem anthropology has been tackling is precisely forming a perspective that includes the micro and the macro level, the local and the global, the individual and the society. In unison with Shore, I see anthropology of policy as providing an analytical window, a perspective of “studying through”, that allows a coherent analysis that encompasses the different levels and ways in which they are in inevitable interaction with each other. (Shore and Durao 2010). Thus my approach deals with two ostensibly different levels, one is the German (political) culture and politics of culture that frame the *Stadtteilmütter* project, and has in certain respects produced it, and the other is the women's reactions toward, and interpretations of their work and the policy world that they engage with.

In the core of my analysis is the negotiation of values that mark the mothers' work. According to Hanna Arendt action is a manifestation of the doer's values and image of

himself or herself (Arendt 1998 [1958], 175-200.) Thus by the scrutiny of the women's work and attitudes toward their work and its products we come to reveal something essential about their values and identities and the ways in which these interact with the values and norms of the policy institutions. In order to understand these aspects of policy work, I need to apply a bottom-up strategy that instead of reducing the subjects of study to robot-like social sector-workers, reveals meanings that the women themselves attach to their work and its products that are essential to understanding their worldviews and experiences of their community and neighbourhood.

I scrutinize the interaction between the policy institutions and the mothers from the point of view of interaction between values, and thus as a form of cultural change. I pay attention to the fundamental values that the institution on the one hand, and the women on the other, express in their different forms of action. In his study of German Ideology Dumont investigates central ideas and values in German ideological history, and how such ideologies and values emerge, how they operate and what impact they have in a given society (Gingrich 1998, 567.) In my case study such aspects of German culture understood as the core values that the 'community of value' asserts, are scrutinized in relation to the women that are affected by them.

In my discussion I brings out the ideals of the German community of value as portrayed in this case of social policy and the related public discussions on immigration, diversity and integration. In order to better illustrate the specificness of the German approach to these matters I make a short comparison between Germany and France and the countries' relations to cultural diversity and difference in chapter two. In this discussion I will introduce related aspects of the German political landscape, after which I move on to discuss how my informants interact with these ideals, concepts and values, making them their own in the process.

2 Anthropology of policy and Germany's shifting immigration policy

> In the course of their daily lives people are affected, directly and indirectly, obviously and subtly, by an extensive array of public policies. ...Public policies in a modern, complex society are indeed ubiquitous. They confer advantages and disadvantages, cause pleasure, irritation, and pain, and collectively have important consequences for our well-being and happiness. They constitute a significant portion of our environment. This being so, we should know something about public policies, including how they are formed, budgeted, implemented, and evaluated. There are also scientific, professional, and political

> reasons for studying public policies and policymaking. ...Scientifically the systematic and rigorous study of the origins, development, and implementation of public policies will enhance our knowledge of political behaviour and governance, as well as of public policy per se. (Anderson 2003; 1).

As part of public policy I expand Anderson's words, cited above, to also describe the need for an anthropological study on social policy projects such as the one at hand here. I would also add that studying policy, its origins, development and implementation will not only teach us about political behaviour and governance, or policy in itself, but it will also reveal important aspects of the sociocultural framework in which policies emerge and take place. A social order is not simply of political, but also of cultural origin. Desires and ideals, dreams and utopias as well as fears and taboos motivating policy making are shaped by complex cultural systems of value, meaning and norms.

In this chapter I will focus in describing relevant aspects of policy making and its development on the one hand, and the German cultural context and society, and the nature of social politics in Germany on the other hand, that frame the *Stadtteilmütter* project. This chapter will also further explain my approach to the scrutiny of my case study and the analytical and theoretical choices I have made, thus in some form continuing the discussion of the introductory chapter and paving the way for my theoretical discussion and analysis. I will start with a short account on anthropological study of policy and the development of public policy, and then move on to discuss aspects of the German sociocultural context and the specific case of integration policy and multiculturalism in Germany.

The 2011 reader *Policy worlds: Anthropology and the analysis of contemporary power* edited by Cris Shore, Susan Wright and Davide Però continues the discussion on anthropological approach to studying policy started over a decade earlier by Shore and Wright in *Anthropology of policy: Critical perspectives of governance and power* released in 1997. These two books assemble a collection of essays from scholars on the topic of anthropology of policy, focusing on its epistemologies, methodologies, perspectives and implications. Drawing mostly from anthropological studies on western contexts the books outline a sub-field of political anthropology, the anthropological study of policy, which introduces a perspective that enables the “studying through“ of the interconnections between different social and political levels that together form the policy world (including institutions, organizations, political ideologies and policy workers as well as the local communities that policies affect). The approach addresses

the study of policy in a way that includes both the concrete ways in which people experience policies and the wider context in which the need for policies develops and the planning of policies takes place. “Studying through“ therefore allows the interconnected study of different sites that together form the field of study leading to a holistic understanding of the trajectories at hand. (Shore & Wright 2011, 12).

Susan Wright and Sue Reinhold (2011) trace the roots of anthropology of policy to the 1980s and 1990s anthropological studies on political transformation and ideological struggle in Thatcherian England. They see that the study of policy, in relation to other anthropological fields of study, has its strength in making the process of domination the subject of anthropological inquiry. Focus on the 'other', the dominated people, is in their opinion not an adequate approach if one desires to learn about how domination works through the implementation of public policies.

I detect a logic inherent in this methodological approach of 'studying through' that simultaneously treats the different levels of policy making as interconnected but ontologically speaking separate. By this I mean that the worldview depicted in this way of understanding the 'policy world' as the subject of study treats the reality that is observed from the heights of the policy-making institutions as a cosmology of its own that needs to be studied in addition to the communities that the policies target. Although much criticism could be directed to the approach[10], this way of looking at the structures involved in policy making corresponds well with the view I gained during my fieldwork. The reality as it is viewed on the political level of decision making and policy planning does indeed appear as significantly different from the local people's experiences of that reality. To put it short, these viewpoints are based on differing ideological and sociocultural premises and thus in many respects interpret the reality that policy sets out to mould fundamentally differently.

In his 2013 article on anthropology of the good, Joel Robbins underlines how anthropology has historically chosen its subjects based on “our own culture's most pressing concerns“ (Robbins 2013b, 450). As the social and cultural environment in which we in the West live in has become portrayed and experienced as socially and culturally increasingly diverse and complex, anthropology has shifted more and more of

10 Not least because of its somewhat simplifying view that depicts power as something that is constructed on an institutional level and then applied through different strategies of governing. But I will not go further into the discussion of the nature of power here. Or the dualism of the view that perhaps somewhat simplifies the existing interconnections between different levels and actors.

its focus to the trajectories of cultural pluralism and diversity that are found in our own western societies: I take the interest in policy making in Western cultural sphere to be one good example of this. Robbins suggests that the suffering subject has replaced the "other" of non-Western contexts as the main subject of anthropological interest, and encourages a move further towards an anthropology of the good, where focus would be placed on "struggling" rather than suffering. The obsession with domination that marks most studies in the field of anthropology of policy could be interpreted as one form of the interest in the suffering subject anthropology has taken, according to Robbins.

I suggest that the anthropological study of policy might help us, both in getting the cultural point across, as well as developing anthropological approaches that produce practical knowledge on policy making in its sociocultural contexts, which in addition to its intellectual contributions can be further applied for example in policy planning. This is so, because the systematic ethnographic study on policy making and its implications produces holistic knowledge on the consequences of policy making as well as about policy making *per se,* and its related political and cultural trajectories that facilitates a holistic understanding about how, why and what particular policies in fact do to the 'reality' they set out to mould and improve – and can point out weaknesses in the existing procedures and suggest solutions for these problems. On a more objective level, anthropological study on policy also reveals how that 'reality' is understood in particular policy projects. As Shore and Wright emphasize, anthropology opens up new perspectives on the study of policy that help us understand not only governance and power, but also the social change that shapes the world. (Shore and Wright 2011, 1). Robbins suggests that what anthropology needs to do in order to move further is to restore some of the lost qualities of the formerly practised anthropology of 'the other' such as the belief in finding promise in different ways of life. His is a call for a focus on values by the scrutiny of how people "foster the good in their real social relations" (Robbins 2013b, 458.) The 'real' here refers to the reality as it is experienced by the people studied and hence calls for an ethnographic approach to its study.

I take Robbins' piece of advice into account and focus on the values and (sometimes culturally opposing) images of good life revealed in the analysis of the *Stadtteilmütter* project, thus taking a slightly different approach to the study of policy than the above mentioned books on the topic sketch out. I do not wish to focus my analysis on the structures of dominance or hegemony. Instead I follow Robbins' line of thinking and

keep my focus on the 'other' – not as a suffering subject, but depict the 'struggle' or action, through which the women express their views on good life and the values and norms they hold important in relation to their work and community.

2.1 Shortly on the emergence of policy

Shore and Wright trace the growth in policy to the growth of the modern state, the influence of which they see visible in all areas of life (2005 [1997], 1-3). This was noted already by Hannah Arendt in her observations of the (then) modern state, which she saw as penetrating the private sphere and thus transcending the division between public and private (1998 [1958], 22-27). Also James C. Scott makes similar observations in his analysis of the development of city planning and social engineering. He underlines that the issue of policy has become extremely relevant since the emergence of "society" in mid-18th century that has brought about the "social sphere", thus blurring the distinction between private and public sphere, leading to the increased monitoring and engineering of the social lives and environments of citizens (Scott 1998, 91) (and in fact all the subjects within certain borders whether citizens or not, see Anderson 2013).

Through these developments the state has become able, and dependent on, monitoring and engineering the lives of its citizens, which has in fact become one of the state's main functions. On which Scott writes that "every crook and cranny of the social order might be improved upon: personal hygiene, diet, child rearing, posture, recreation, family structure..." (ibid, 92.) As indicated by Scott's use of the word "improve", most of such engineering is planned and executed with a vision of a better world as its guiding principle, and as such, policies express a certain interpretation of good life and a desired moral landscape. Though, as Scott points out, the great plans have often utterly failed their visionaries, as in the cases of megalomaniac high modernist and Taylorist urban planning projects (ibid, 342-343) of which Neukölln's Gropius Stadt[11] is a Berlin example.

In line with Brigdet Anderson (2013, 48), Scott also adds that it is especially the "subpopulations" that "make the objects of the most intensive social engineering" (Scott 1998, 92). Improving the lives of the weaker segments of society, sometimes seen as not capable of recognizing their own best interest, has been a common motivator for social engineering projects – which has often in modern democratic societies been treated as

11 The grim reality of life in Gropius Stadt is aptly illustrated in the famous book "Christiane F – We children of Bahnhof Zoo" (Rieck and Hermman)

one of the state's most pressing responsibilities (Taylor 1994.) Through policy-making people become classified based on factors such as membership of a group (Oberfield 2014, 14.) Theoretically speaking, such social categories are objectified social constructs that in policy-making have come to be seen and treated as *real* and *natural* (Taussig 2010 [1980], 4-6.) Borrowing from Shore and Wright, policy does not only mould societies, it also "…shapes the way individuals construct themselves as subjects. Through policy, the individual is categorized and given such statuses and roles as 'subject', 'citizen', 'professional', 'national', 'criminal', and 'deviant'". (Shore and Wright 2005 [1997], 4). In the discourses of the modern state also subcategories and identifications that point to certain attributes such as 'good citizen', 'tolerated citizen', 'non-citizen' or 'integrated immigrant' and 'illegal immigrant' emerge (Anderson 2013, 5-7.)

It is certainly true that the nature, form and purpose of policy making is always essentially linked to the current political ideologies, and political transformations thus influence policy projects and the ways that they are funded and executed. Susan Brin Hyatt (2011) highlights how the dominant political ideologies strongly influence the role that the individual has as a member of society, and how this relationship between society and the individual is reflected in the ways that policies address the individuals they target. In addition to politico-economic ideologies, policies also reflect public debates that address issues of cultural values and negotiate the process and direction of social as well as cultural change.

In the next part of this chapter I will discuss some elements of the German community of value that are relevant to my analysis. I start with an attempt to draw a general image on how difference and foreignness have been and are dealt with in Germany, and then move on to a more precise discussion on multiculturalism and integration.

2.2 Die Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft

In this part I will further discuss the German context. I will look into the influence the country's recent past has on the political culture and politics of culture practised today. I will also make a short comparison with France in order to better bring out the characteristics of the German political and moral landscape. I will discuss the values that the German community of value holds important and then move on to discuss political approaches to integration and multiculturalism.

2.2.1 A quick glance at the past

In order to give a framework to the way diversity is politically and socially dealt with and understood in today's Germany, it is necessary to make a short summary about the ways that Germany's recent past continues in multiple ways to affect the current situation in the country. Through this discussion I wish to bring out some of the elements of German collectivity that are essential to my later discussion.

Holocaust and the Second World War and the events surrounding them are without a question the most significant historical era marking most debates in relation to what we might call Germanness, German identity and German culture in general. The past is not only a constant theme in German politics, media and art, but also a recurrent topic in scientific discourses related to Germany and its history, memory, social politics, culture and the like. In anthropological studies of Germany, special attention has typically been paid to understanding the effects the country's difficult past has on the present. This is also the case in studies where the past is not a part of the main subject of inquiry *an sich* (see for example studies from Ruth Mandel and Uli Linke). I find that a short account on the past is in order also in relation to understanding the qualities of German political culture that influence policy-making practices and their relation to difference in the contemporary moment.

Rüede and Soma write about the feelings that German students express toward this era of their national history. They state that in a survey "[m]any [students] responded that they feel unfairly burdened with the history of genocide; "If Hitler had seized the power in another country, for example in France, the Holocaust would have also taken place." The sense is that around the country, youth vigorously reject associated feelings of guilt." (Rüede & Soma 2009). I will move on to discuss the notion of guilt soon, but first I want to look at the other significant notion in this citation: the claim made by the students that Holocaust was simply a result of a certain political development that could have taken place anywhere, regardless of the sociocultural context. This remark is interesting in terms of understanding the strategies that younger generations develop in order to distance themselves from negative aspects of the legacy of previous generations. It can be interpreted as an attempt to avoid the mythical aspects that Holocaust has taken on in the German cosmology, which influences the German collective identity in negative ways (this has been more thoroughly discussed by Daniel Levy and Jeffrey K. Olick for example in their article "Collective Memory and Cultural

Constraint: Holocaust Myth and Rationality in German Politics" (1997). Also other scholars, probably most famously Theodor W. Adorno, have paid attention to these aspects of German memory culture. See for example Adorno's *Guilt and Defense: On the Legacies of National Socialism in Postwar Germany*).

If we are to scrutinize the students claim from a Dumontian viewpoint, we however have to conclude that it is precisely certain aspects in German culture that led to the development of the national socialist form of racism. In this view Nazism is a specific product of that given cultural development, which created the political moment. And that these events cannot possibly be understood without first understanding their particular sociocultural context. (Dumont 1986, 151; Dumont 1994, 233-234). In Dumont's interpretation, the national socialist form of racism developed from the fundamental German ideology, not as a game of chance, but due to the inherent logic cultures (or ideologies) according to him possess (Dumont 1986, 151.) His point is not to make a value judgement about different cultures, but to look deeper into those structures and developments that created the situation, not only from a political or economic perspective, but including the sociocultural one, which for anthropology is obviously the most essential viewpoint.

In *German ideology: From France to Germany and Back* (1994), Dumont makes a detailed comparative analysis of German and French *ideologies*[12]. The first parts of his book concentrate on the formative era of German culture between 1770-1830 and the concept of *Bildung* (a German ideal of self-education, self-formation, or self-improvement). According to him there are three core features that have characterized German culture all the way until the end of the Second World War. The first one of these are the holistic ideas of *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Volk* (nation or people), which allow a German to feel human only through feeling German. To use Dumont's words:

> ...the German lives in a community (*Gemeinschaft*) with which he identifies himself. His community is essentially cultural: he is a man through his being a German... The German intellectual not only ignores society (*Gesellschaft*) in the narrow sense of the word, but at the same time, in his inner life he thinks of himself as an individual and devotes all his care to the development of his personality. This is the famous idea of *Bildung* or "self-cultivation"..." (Dumont 1994, 19).

12 As Robbins and Siikala have noted, Dumont's use of the word "ideology" can be understood as "culture", and I am thus using these terms in interchangeable ways.

The second aspect is the decisive formative influence of the Lutheran Reformation, which in comparison to Enlightenment and the French Revolution served as an earlier religious form of individualism that culminates in the person, hence avoiding the necessity of political involvement. This development produced a distinct religious form of individualism, quite different from, for example, its French revolutionary and secular version. (Ibid., 19). And last but not least, Dumont analyses the concept of *Reich,* a universal empire that entailed the idea of German supremacy over other peoples, and thus facilitated the coming of age of National Socialism (Ibid., 20-24.)

It is the combination of these elements that Dumont sees unique to German culture and its development. He describes a particular combination of holistic and individualistic elements that have found their way to the core of German cosmology. (Dumont 1994, 24). Although, Dumont's analysis of German culture ends with the Second World War, other scholars have analysed the hegemonic narrative of German culture and society from a more contemporary perspective, which enables me to evaluate whether Dumont's findings have currency in the postwar era. Although the hegemonic German culture both in political and in social terms has changed significantly in the postwar era, I will show how some elements from the pre-war time analysed by Dumont still continue to influence German culture, collective identity and politics. As Paul Connerton has noted, "all beginnings contain an element of recollection. This is particularly so when a social group makes a concerted effort to begin with a wholly new start." (Connerton 2011, 6). In his review of Dumont's book Andre Gingrich writes that

> [s]ince 1945, it would appear, German ideology has gone through some fundamental changes. An emphasis on moralist self-education persists, and so perhaps does a certain element of a community holism. The notion of pan-Germanist *Reich* supremacy, however, remains shattered. (1998, 572).

A big part of Germany's current 'foreign' population came to the country the decades following the Holocaust. The status and situation of these immigrant groups have been historically linked to the preceding role the Jews had in the German worldview. The guest workers, particularly the Turkish, in a sense replaced Jews as the ethnic counterpart, the "other", for the German "self" (Mandel 2008, 133). According to Mandel, a similar ambivalence can be identified in an earlier German discourse about Jews and in the more recent one about the Turks. She continues more precisely:

> Turks are seen simultaneously as wrongful insiders and unintegratable outsiders. Turkish Germans sometimes complain that they feel the weight of Jewish exclusion

> in their own experiences in contemporary German society. On the one hand, Turks are thought to reinforce their originary cultural, linguistic, and religious affiliations. On the other hand, sometimes Turks who have "succeeded" in German society are seen at worst as traitors or at best as hybrid, unable to achieve a genuine status. (Mandel 2008, 131).

As Olick and Levy (1997) have discussed, the National Socialist past has not only strongly influenced issues of identity on an individual as well as on a collective level, and the related feelings of in- and out-group, but it continues to significantly influence German politics too. A particular problem has been the presence of Muslims in the country while the German state has to stay loyal to the state of Israel and fight anti-Semitism. The increasing concern about the anti-Semitic tendencies of Europe's Muslims has further complicated Germany's relation to its Muslim population and in some cases provoked Islamophobic sentiments in the country. This has been studied by Matti Bunzl (2005). Bunzl separates two opposing camps of thinkers. One, "the alarmists", are located on the political right, and see anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism as almost indistinguishable from one another. This camp sees anti-Semitism as an Islamic phenomenon caused by the presence of Muslims in Europe. For alarmists, anti-Semitism "appears ...as a kind of historical constant. Holocaust guilt may have suppressed it somewhat in the last few decades, but now Israel's policies in the struggle with Palestinians are giving Europe renewed license to openly despise the Jews." (2005, 499). The other camp is called "deniers", and it sees anti-Semitism as part of right-wing extremist racism. According to Bunzl, both of these camps are wrong. He argues that:

> Neither is Europe a haven for a renewed and unbridled anti-Semitism somehow coded into the social DNA of the continent nor can all anti-Semitic incidents be subsumed under a general rubric of right-wing violence. Both explanatory frameworks ultimately falter because of their reliance on overly static views of history. ...what is missing is a recognition of the radical historical transformations in the status and function of European anti-Semitism as well as the right-wing's project. (Ibid, 500).

This discussion on the anti-Semitism of Germany's young Muslims and the violent tendencies of minority groups in general has had a profound effect on the stereotypical images portrayed in the media (Yalcin-Heckmann 2002). Such stereotypes continue to influence attitudes toward cultural diversity and the situation of Muslim minorities in negative ways, as social psychologist and philosopher Haci-Halil Uslucan points out (2012, 52-60). This situation seems to be particularly pressing in Germany because of the issues of guilt and responsibility regarding the country's recent past. The dilemmas that follow from the situation are ones related to securing the Jewish individuals living

in the country and maintaining good relationships with the state of Israel, while at the same time taking into account the needs of other immigrant groups and safeguarding them from racism. The problematic relationship to difference Germany has historically had continues to hinder the ways that diversity is dealt with in the country, sometimes repressing meaningful and constructive discussion and other times provoking extreme views on these matters (Olick & Levy 1997).

Rothberg and Yildiz (2011) discuss the issues of collective memory and past events in relation to immigrants in Germany. Instead of focusing on political culture or racist discourses, they turn their attention to memory culture in the country. They also have noticed the complicated nature of guilt and responsibility regarding the National Socialist past in relation to ethnic minorities. “Working through the past” has been a topic of a loud debate in Germany. Rothberg writes that “commemoration of National Socialism and the Holocaust has made its way to the center of the official national identity of a unified Germany, even if the path has most definitely been a twisted one and that centrality continues to be contested.” (Rothberg 2014, 123).

Rothberg and Yildiz have been focusing on the ways in which the past as an important nominator for German collective identity affects ethnic minorities today. They have pointed out the exclusive qualities of German memory culture that assigns membership only to ethnic Germans and points to the racialization of national identity. Relying on Şenocak's writings on the issue, they state that “...majority German society has also perpetuated key elements of the past that is being memorialised – in particular in the self-conception of German identity as ethnically based – with obvious implications for the negotiation with perceived difference in the present.” (2011, 35). They observe a dangerous paradox in a situation in which the preservation of ethnicized identity is treated as essential in order to confront the crimes that were committed in its name in the past. This poses problems on the practical level, for example in the form of educational models in the school system, which continue to invoke feelings of exclusion in students from minority groups.

As an example of the exclusion based on ethnicity, Rothberg and Yildiz quote a second generation Turkish-German Havva Jürgensen, stating that “[w]e often hear that the topic of National Socialism is not for us because we're immigrants. Just as often it's insinuated that in any case we are too anti-Semitic to be interested in this topic.” (ibid,

36). In another account given to them by Turkish-German, Aylin Teker, Teker tells about a "wanna-be Hitler" history teacher she had in *Oberschule.* The teacher used to sometimes greet the pupils with the Hitler salute and according to Teker, "cursed us that we should go back to Turkey." (Ibid., 41). The quotation describes a strong sense of exclusion as well as prejudice against certain immigrant groups and their descendants.

Lamya Kaddor, an Islam specialist and a second generation German-Arab, writes about her personal experiences of going to school in Germany. She writes that because of her dark hair and brown eyes the Germans immediately knew she was a "foreigner".

> This had consequences. For example at school. What does a teacher in a German *Grundschule* do with such a student in the 1980s? They put her to an additional "mother language"-class – of course a Turkish one. Only weeks after the teacher realized that I am not Turkish, although I was already able to speak my first sentences of accent-free Turkish. (Kaddor 2011, 75).

Ruth Mandel describes a situation that a Turkish mother faced when she attempted to get her son, a good student, a place in a German *Gymnasium* (High School), which one can enter only with the support of a teacher.[13] She had met resistance from the teachers who had said "What good is a Gymnasium education to a Turk?" (2008, 166). These different anecdotes from the field of education all point to the direction that the social categorizations based on ethnicity (or even race) are strongly affective also in the field of education. (Germany's school system is further analysed from the perspective of ethnic, especially Muslim, minorities by Lamya Kaddor (2011) in her book *Muslimisch – weiblich – deutsch! Mein Weg zu einem zeitgemäßen Islam.* See also Mandel 2008, p. 164-168).

Until the end of the guest worker programme, Germany was expecting the migrant workers to return to their home countries. When a recession hit the country in the 1980s many of the foreign workers lost their jobs. The recruiting of new workers ceased, and pressure was put on the guest workers to leave the country. At the same time an influx of refugees and asylum seekers from conflict areas brought about new complexity in the immigration structures of the country. This was further complicated by the German unification at the end of the decade that witnessed a wave of immigration from Eastern

13 In the German schooling system the academically oriented students are already spotted early on by the teachers and this "cherry picking" determines who is to make it to *Gymnasium*. The other two alternatives are *Realschule* where one receives vocational training and graduates at the age of sixteen, and *Hauptschule* from which one graduates even earlier with only a school-leaving certificate. Because many immigrant families are not as well acquainted with the German schooling system, they are less able to direct their children to the Gymnasium track (Mandel 2008, 164-168).

parts of Europe, and changed social structures through the unification of the two German nations (Mandel 2008, 315; Goddar & Huneke 2011, 18-25). By the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, many of the guest workers had integrated well into German society and had formed families in the country. Many of them felt distanced from their countries of origin, or were not able to return because of unstable political situations. This situation led to a significant number of guest workers deciding to stay in Germany, and the formation of a permanent situation of ethnic plurality in the country (Goddar & Huneke 18-25). Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government failed to acknowledge the presence of these minorities, announcing itself as “not a country of immigration”. The denial logically led to a situation in which very few policy initiatives were made in order to “integrate” ethnic minorities or address social structures in a way that would have acknowledged their presence and needs (Uslucan 2012, 45).

In political discussions the population of Germany is metaphorically and socially divided into the categories of *Volk* (ethnic nation or people) and *Bevölkerung* (population). The terms *Gesellschaft,* the society, and *Bevölkerung* (population) refer to all the people inhabiting the country with a citizenship status (Rothberg & Yildiz 2011). To this group also belong what Bridget Anderson has named “(not-quite-)good-enough citizens”, “failed citizens”, “tolerated citizens”, and sometimes the “non-citizens” as well. This refers to people who legally speaking have a citizenship status but are for some reason excluded from the community of value (Anderson 2013, 3-5). *Volk* (nation) and *Gemeinschaft* (community) describe the historical German collective that is considered ethnically, culturally and socially united (Rothberg & Yildiz 2011).

In relation to this dichotomy, Rothberg and Yildiz analyse a controversial artwork that the German American-based artist Hans Haacke made for the Reichstag (the German Parliament house in Berlin), which was made the seat of the parliament of the unified Germany. In his work Haacke addressed the issue of ethnicity as a defining quality for the German nation that culminates in the famous writing “DEM DEUTSCHEN VOLKE” (To the German people) above the entrance of the building. Haacke integrated the text “DER BEVÖLKERUNG” (to the population) into his installation, which was placed in a courtyard of the Reichstag building. It was precisely the ethnic categorizations and relations between state, people (nation) and population that Haacke wanted to bring to the fore (Rothberg & Yildiz 2011, 32). More than just paying attention to the ethnic classification Haacke's work of art also comments on the

relationship that the German majority has with difference. Also Haacke makes a connection between the previous role of the Jew as the primary "other" to the German "self", and the current status and role of immigrants in Germany, Turks and Muslims especially. Rothberg and Yildiz introduce this aspect of Haacke's work as follows:

> Haacke traces his inspiration for the project back to his first on-site viewing of the inscription in 1984. Not only was he reminded of the burning of the Reichstag in 1933, which the Nazis used to justify their political takeover, but he also recalled the fact that the sons of the German-Jewish metal caster who created the original inscription in 1915 were later killed in the Holocaust. In Haacke's mind, this dark past intersected with an ambivalent present marked by Germany's post-Holocaust migration history. As he writes about his 1984 visit: "On the lawn in front of the building, kids were playing football and families were barbecuing lamb – it was a Turkish environment […]. And up there, on the architrave, I read in giant bronze letters "To the German People". To many of the children playing on the lawn, as to their parents, uncles, and aunts it seemed to say, "This place is not for you! You don't belong! You stay out!"". (Rothberg & Yildiz 2011, 33)

The Reichstag building functions as a type of authority in Germany. The announcement of its facade promotes an exclusive vision of the nation that still to this day seems to prevail in the myth of a community of value.

2.2.2 To France and back

As I have discussed in my bachelor's thesis (Toukolehto 2013) there are fundamental differences in the ways that ethnic and cultural diversity is perceived in French and German societies in relation to collective identity. A case in point was made by the *Stadtteilmütter* themselves when they laughingly accounted to me their trip to France to meet their French colleagues. What they were seemingly shocked and amused about was their French colleagues' insistence on their "Frenchness". As the German Stadtteilmütter met their French peers, they had asked the women where they came from. The French neighbourhood mothers had perceived the question as an insult and replied sharply that they were obviously French, and that such a question seemed to suggest that they are not full members of the French society. This anecdote from the field is particularly revealing in relation to the differences in collective identities in the two countries. Even those *Stadtteilmütter* who were born in Germany do not consider themselves to be fully German in the same way as their French counterparts did, who seemed to understand themselves as French. The German immigrant women did not seem to understand how it was possible for the obviously Arabic, Turkish, and other

women to claim a full membership in the French society and collective identity (Fieldnotes; Interview 7).

Lale Yalcin-Heckmann (2002) also takes note of this situation among the second generation Turkish migrants in Germany. In relation to the complexity of the processes of identity construction of the younger generation, she writes that:

> When one considers the ethnographic material, which helps us to contextualize the processes of naming and self-identification, one is struck by the difficulty felt by Turkish labour migrants and the second generation in finding a single name for their identity. Some say they are Turks living in Germany, some say they are Turks who happen to live in Germany, some say they are Turks and Berliners and the like, but hardly any say they are Germans, or German Turks for that matter. (Ibid., 312).

I interpret this to manifest the differences between the German and French approaches toward foreignness, difference and diversity. However, there are other aspects one needs to consider in order to get a grasp on the complexity of the situation and the multiplicity of factors that affect identity construction of members of ethnic minorities in both countries. Yalcin-Heckmann illustrates this in her article by paying attention to the relationship between different generations of migrants within the minority groups. She states that identity development of the second generation is strongly influenced by:

> ...the role and structural and symbolic positioning of the first generation, especially how this generation is to be symbolically and socially classified according to the perceptions of the recipient wider society. I suggest that second-generation migrants are involved in more complex processes of identity construction than those suggested in a bipolar relationship between the perceptions of the 'German others' and the second generation. There are third and even fourth interlocutors in this trialogue/quadralogue, namely, the parental generation and also the 'other others'. (Ibid., 312).

According to Ruth Mandel, the ethnic or racial attributes that define being 'German' are still a premise for social classifications in Germany. Since only an ethnically German can be a member of the *Gemeinschaft* and the *Volk*, and hence only an ethnically German can be understood as fully German, it becomes clear that non-ethnic Germans cannot claim full membership in the community of value. Moreover, what is problematic in this ethnically based social classification and identification is the static rank it assigns to non-ethnic Germans as eternal “outsiders”. This portrays non-Germans as unchangeable in nature. This essentialist vision of the community of value has survived from the era of the Third Reich but in a less malign form (2008, 210-225).

A lot of resources were invested in integrating the newly arrived *Aussiedler* who are ethnically speaking of German origin. Reflecting on the relative status of the German *Aussiedler* after the unification, Mandel connects the lack of integration programmes for the Turkish immigrants with the idea that based on their ethnicity they are classified as inconvertible and essentially non-German. (Mandel 2008, 217).

So far my discussion has revealed some of the implications that German history has had on contemporary German society, and highlighted how some minority groups continue to be perceived as "outsiders" or "foreigners" in the country. These people are "aliens" who are not part of the German community, which remains largely ethnically defined. At the same time, it would be a mistake to view German society and nation in static and unchangeable terms. It is clear that a lot of political as well as social changes have taken place in the country, also in relation to its minority groups. The *Stadtteilmütter* initiative and the 2000 change in the German citizenship law from *jus sanguinis* (citizenship based on blood and inheritance) to that of a more liberal model incorporating elements of *jus soli* (citizenship based on birthplace) (Rothberg & Yildiz 2011, 32) resonate a shift in the attitudes toward "foreigners" and cultural plurality in the country.

Anthropologist John R. Bowen scrutinizes the anti-Burqa law in France. In his article *How the French State Justifies Controlling Muslim Bodies: From Harm-Based to Values-Based Reasoning* (2011), Bowen shows how the shift from a harm-based argumentation to that of a values-based one facilitated the passing of the law that prohibits wearing religious clothing in public space, and reflects the more general attempt of the French State to control the public moral order by a condemnation of non-French symbols. As I have claimed earlier in my bachelor's thesis (Toukolehto 2013), I believe that such a law has not been timely or publicly as much discussed in Germany because immigrants are not considered full fledged members of the community of value, and thus it is not necessary to control them in the same way as it is in France. Such a legislation is put in place to safeguard the morals and paramount values of the secular, egalitarian nation state. Since Germany announced itself not to be a "country of immigration" for a long time, it never developed such measures to deal with its "foreign" population. If the French approach has been characterized by measures of assimilation, then the German one would have to be described by a general denial of diversity (Mandel 2008, 153). This denial could be interpreted, at least to an extent, as a

result of the difficulties and feelings of guilt that the Holocaust has caused, and the complicated nature of Germany's relation to ethnic minorities this has created.

Another issue is the highly valued secularism of the French tradition of *Laïcité* that places particular emphasis on protecting this value. The tradition of secularism in France has its roots in the secularist nature of the development of the French form of individualism out of the French revolution, which according to Dumont differs from the Christian nature of German individualism (Dumont 1994, 19-20). Now that Germany has moved toward a more open acknowledgement of its immigrant (especially Muslim) population, it has also developed similar values-based measures to promote unity in the country. Instead of emphasizing secular values as in the French model, the German approach encompasses dominant Christian values. This is illustrated by the promotion of a dominant *Leitkultur* in Germany. The Christian politician, Markus Söder's remark illustrates this approach well. He claims that: ”...We need a change in our integration policy which ought to be based strictly on the values and notion of a modern Christian society.” (Mandel 2008, 219.) Although the German political landscape consists of a plurality of opinions and approaches to integration and the debated concept of *Leitkultur,* such views on the dominant values of the majority society continue to influence public views on diversity. This is not only true because of the popularity of the political parties CDU (Christilich Demokratische Union Deutschlands, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany) and CSU (Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern e.V., Christian-Social Union of Bayern) that have been dominating German political landscape since 1945 (Niedermayer 2015).

The combination of the individualistic concept of *Bildung* and the Christian form of individualism are highly valued characteristics that a good and successful citizen from the point of view of the community of value should act out. This comes close to the way that the Urapmin Christianity in Joel Robbins' case study emphasizes the ”creation of an individual self that is worthy of salvation” as most valued (Robbins 2007, 309). We might not speak about salvation in the German context, but a morally acceptable individual is described similarly as someone who is not only law-abiding but also a master of self-cultivation.

2.2.3 Integration, the end or the beginning of multiculturalism?

So far I have discussed the essential elements of German memory culture and identity politics in a historical perspective and in comparison with the French case, which I hope will help the reader to better grasp the ways that these elements guide policy making in Germany today. I will now turn my attention to the field of political discussions on multiculturalism and integration.

It is necessary to take a closer look at the ambiguous concept of integration to better understand the policy making it inspires, which dictates much of the circumstances in which the women work, and marks public debates on immigration and the position of ethnic minorities in German society. Through these practices and discourses the concept of integration comes to influence common thought and the ways in which people view diversity. Since the idea of integration is essentially linked to debates on multiculturalism and ideas on how ethnic and cultural diversity should and can be dealt with, I will start with the politically vital concept of multiculturalism and then move on to discuss integration more directly.

Debates surrounding multiculturalism and immigration policy – particularly the Muslim presence in Europe – are in the core of public discussions related to my topic and describe much of the ideological struggles that mark German political culture today. They are relevant to my case study because the *Statdtteilmütter* project is designed particularly to enhance integration of Muslim families of Turkish and Arabic origin that still remain its main target groups, despite the fact that members of other ethnic minorities are also allowed to participate. *In Multiculturalism Blackflash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (2010) Vertovec and Wessendorf bring to the fore the equivocal and intricate nature of the concept of multiculturalism and the plurality of practices, policies and strategies from educational to legal and social which it has been linked to. They sum up multiculturalism as referring most notably to policy actions in different societal sectors that aim at the reduction of discrimination, promotion of equal opportunity and full participation for all members of society, equal access to public services, recognition of cultural identities, and a possibility of such public representations of minority identities that avoid stereotyping (Ibid., 4).

For a time multiculturalism became the celebrated ideology in Europe guiding policy making and immigration policy, resulting in a wide range of programmes and

approaches intended to improve the status of subordinate groups and to celebrate cultural diversity and (assisted) equality. More recently, however, this political trend seems to have come to its end, as political leaders and the public have increasingly criticized it as having created a “tyranny of political correctness” that disables a truthful discussion on immigration (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010, 7-8; Uslucan 2012, 7). Moreover, critics claim that multiculturalism has misguided policy and created separateness in its promotion of cultural diversity and neglect of integration and common national values (ibid, 14.) In the European political landscape German politicians have been among the most vocal critics of multiculturalism, seeing its approach to cultural diversity and immigration as naive and unrealistic, a “multi-culti romanticism” as Neukölln's mayor Heinz Buschkowsky calls it. Despite the loud criticism, Germany actually never took on the multiculturalist policies on the same scale as many other western and Northern European states, and has in fact been criticized for the lack of such policies (Ibid., 9). This makes the eagerness of German political leaders, most notably chancellor Angela Merkel's, Social Democrat and Berlin's former Senator of Finance Thilo Sarrazin's, and Buschkowsky's denouncement of multiculturalism (Moore 2010; Knight 2015) somewhat curious, since Germany's multiculturalism always remained mostly a rhetorical one, and the country's current problems can thus hardly be traced back to the 'misguiding multiculturalist policies'.

Since December 2014 an openly anti-Muslim movement *Pegida* “Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes” (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West) has gained popularity in Germany, and the movement's weekly 'Monday demonstrations' have seen tens of thousands of people joining the ranks of the patriots. According to the media, violent attacks against asylum seekers have increased with 130% (a total of 76 cases) during the three first months of Pegida's weekly demonstrations in comparison to the three preceding months (33 cases in total) (*Neues Deutschland*: Inland: Pegida 2015; *Der Spiegel*: Panorama: Pegida 2015; Dernbach 2015). The Pegida movement is just one more recent example of the common European conclusion that the liberal ideology of multiculturalism “has absolutely failed”, to quote both chancellor Angela Merkel and Heinz Buschkowsky (Moore 2010; Knight 2015), which has marked an ideological shift in the political atmosphere in Germany and Europe at large. The anti-multiculturalism and anti-immigration sentiments rely on interpretations that see multiculturalism as having produced an environment, 'a

dangerous social condition', in which Islamic terrorism and radicalization is free to flourish, posing a threat to western European civilization and its values and principles (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010, 1). This ideological shift bares resemblance to Samuel P. Huntington's "Clash of civilizations" trope that sees the future of the world as divided between different incompatible, culturally rivalling civilizations (see Huntington 1996 or Edward Said 2001). And indeed, it seems that the patriots of Western Europe have taken on the idea of incompatible cultures or civilizations, as the rhetoric used by Pegida exemplifies.

This "shift" in political ideologies and their rhetorics has not gone unnoticed by social and political scientist specialized in the field of politics in Europe. Matti Bunzl (2005) and John R. Bowen (2011) in their very different case studies show how European political ideologies have increasingly adapted a rhetoric that depicts Europe as one cultural entity, a secular (or Christian), individualistic and modern "civilization" based on universalist notions of human rights and freedom of speech in contrast to its barbaric "others", most notably the Islamic civilization. This totalizing view has been increasingly applied by media and other public commentators from experts to amateur bloggers, and it is thus becoming integrated in common thought in Germany, as manifested by the Pegida demonstrations and the growing popularity of right-wing populist, right-wing extremist and conservative (Christian) political parties (Roderich 2013: Bundeswahlleiter: Ergebnis der Bundestagswahl). Although it is noteworthy that anti-European Union sentiments have also been on the rise, and many of these political actors do employ a rhetoric of a culturally specific nation state in contrast and opposition to a generic European model. However, when it comes to ethnic and cultural diversity (which is partly blamed on EU immigration policy) a common European goal does seem to unite the patriotic citizens of different countries under the umbrella term of "European culture" and European values, despite the diversity of ways of understanding and interpreting this socially constructed category of "Europe" and its relation to national identity.[14]

Common arguments against multiculturalism, immigration and the presence of foreigners in Germany rely heavily on the idea of a formation of parallel societies. The discourse on parallel societies is linked to fears of ghettoization, *Überfremdung* and

14 It is noteworthy that majority of Pegida's supporters, contrary to the common belief, belong to the middle-class and have a relatively high education. The movement can thus be characterized as most powerful in the middle of society, a place that could even be referred to as the 'mainstream' and the movement should thus by no means be understood as radical or marginalized, although it does encompass also such elements.

(re-)islamization that all point to issues of growing levels of crime, and a fear of a change in the moral landscape towards non-secular (or non-Christian), non-democratic, non-individualistic and non-egalitarian values (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010, 5; Mandel 2008, 89). These fears are critical of segregation and the visibility of foreign, non-German cultural and religious traits (most notably ones considered "Islamic") in the public sphere, based on an idea that a parallel society becomes something like a leech on the flesh of the German society, sucking out all the financial benefits it can get, without giving anything back. (Uslucan 2012, 7).

Ghettoization on the other hand emphasizes the drastic state of the *ghetto* in which life is portrayed as barely humane. The rhetoric of ghettoization entails parallelism between the ghettos of our world, thus denying areas described as ghettos of any specific characteristics of their own. This is illustrated by news reportage on the matter of which Yalcin-Heckmann gives an example from one of the most read weekly journals, *Der Spiegel* from 1973. The title of the story announces "One million Turks: Turks are coming – every man for himself". The article states that

> The pressure from Boshporus aggravates a crisis, which is already swelling in those densely populated urban centres swamped by foreigners. Cities such as Berlin ...could hardly cope with the invasion. Ghettos are being created and sociologists are already predicting the decay of cities, criminality and social pauperisation, as in Harlem. (Yalcin-Heckmann 2002, 310).

The story provokes fear and portrays the immigrants in a negative manner that creates a division between "us" and the "other", who lives in uncivilized conditions in the ghetto. The rhetorical use of the word "invasion" conveys a conflict between the in-comers and the *einheimische* Germans, and promotes a binary opposition between these groups. Although more recently German media, Der Spiegel included, has produced stories that take a more moderate and balanced approach to the way they depict minority groups, immigration and 'ghettos', such media representations continue to influence the images the wider public has on these matters (See for example Knight 2015 in *Exberliner*).

The ghetto is present also in the way that the *Stadtteilmütter* project is sometimes introduced. A documentary film on one of the biggest German TV channels, *ARD*, described the mothers' work this way:

> The Neighbourhood mothers shall find access to women who live in a ghetto because they do not speak any German. They help with child-rearing and health issues and explain German bureaucracy to them. They give isolated women

> courage to take the step to go out of their homes, and integrate to the society. During house visits the Neighbourhood mothers promote especially German courses, with a focus on the future of the children. (*ARD* Mediathek, "Stadtteilmütter" 2014).

This citation evokes several associations, it links womanhood and motherhood to social deprivation, lack of education and poverty. It also depicts the Neighbourhood mothers as an instrument, as something that provides access to something else. And lastly, a parallelism is made between lack of German skills and the condition of the ghetto. Not all the families the women work with suffer particularly from a lack of language skills, and the younger generations most of the time speak fluent German, which they have learned in kindergarten or at school. Also the isolated nature of the neighbourhood in relation to the wider frame of reference of the city, and the individual immigrant in relation to the society are emphasized as unwanted conditions one should fight against.

Islamisierung and *Überfremdung* refer to more aggressive developments where the foreign cultures and worldviews become seen as actively threatening the existence and continuity of German (or European) culture(s). Statements given by the Pegida supporters and media discourses that depict the foreigners in binary opposition to German community of value are common examples of this. Unable to imagine a future where different segments of society could foster a harmonious *Zusammenleben*[15] in Germany, the only argument made to change the existing situation and to prevent it from getting "worse" has been, in popular consent of the people critical of multiculturalism, to cease immigration of "culturally distant" groups into the country, and to necessitate and demand integration from all "foreigners" already in the country. (*ARD* 2014, Pegida; See also for example Thilo Sarrazin's (2010) book *Deutschland schafft sich ab: wie wir unser Land aufs Spiel setzen,* which is not the only one of its kind in the genre, but sums up well this view on immigration). This conclusion resembles the earlier discourse of the Helmut Kohl government of the early 1980s, during which not only the coalition government but also the general public wanted to repatriate at least 50% of the in-assimilable or un-integratable Turks (Seils 2013; Moore 2010).

Through an analysis of ESS and CID surveys on public opinion about immigrants and immigration Citrin and Sides (2008) show that the ideas people have about the amount of migrants, their status and their economic and cultural contributions to the society, are

15 Coexistence, or "living together"

often based on false imaginations. These fictions take on almost mythical qualities in the society where they circulate. Watching the interviews of the supporters and members of the Pegida movement gathered to protest against “the islamization of the West”, it is clear that the understanding they have of the situation has very little to do with the “reality” of immigration. To give a concrete example, as in Citrin's and Side's study, the Pegida demonstrators also seemed to highly overestimate the number of immigrants in the country. Other issues that the demonstrators expressed as their main motivations to protest seemed to be highly emotional ones (despite their attempts to deny any emotional motifs) that were seldom even remotely based on facts. For example, a very common argument made was that migrants and refugees in the country are creating an economic burden on Germany that results in cut-backs on the social security system that discriminates against the “einheimische” Germans. The demonstrators also stated that islamization is visible in their everyday lives in the amounts of “foreigners” one sees in public transportation and so forth, and thus interpreted the mere presence of non-Western looking individuals as “islamization”. This shows how strongly non-German elements, even ones of skin colour or language, are interpreted to symbolize an aggressive development that threatens the existing cultural order (*ARD* 2014, Pegida; Fieldnotes).

Most of Pegida's supporters spoke about “Turks” and “Africans”, if they named a specific group at all, but mostly the umbrella term “foreigner” or “Muslim” was used. In the interviews the people clearly expressed fear and anxiety toward non-European or non-German cultural or religious traits visible in the public sphere and seemed to experience them as some kind of a threat. The people made connections between the growing “foreignness” of Germany and the current situation in Syria and general unrest in parts of Middle East and Africa, and expressed worry about these conflicts spreading to Germany and Europe due to the the Muslim presence in the area *(ARD* 2014, Pegida; Fieldnotes).

In line with other studies (including the one from Citrin and Sides) Vertovec and Wessendorf also conclude that the statistics do not correspond with the popular images of segregation and so-called ghettoization. Although there are areas, such as Neukölln, where a relatively high percentage of residents are of “immigration background” (up to 30 or 40%), the majority of the inhabitants are still ethnically speaking German – and the rest of the inhabitants, the 'non-Germans', do not form a homogenous group, a

"parallel society" of some kind, but instead the areas are inhabited by members of different ethnic and religious groups. Also Nederveen Pieterse (2000), Haci-Halil Uslucan (2012, 43) and Ruth Mandel (2008, 205) highlight that popular images of ethnic minorities often group together several ethnic and religious groups that are in fact ethnically and culturally diverse. This trend is particularly visible in the way Arabs and Turks in Germany are often referred to as 'Muslims' despite the cultural, religious and ethnic differences between and within these groups. Statistically speaking, the most *foreign* of Berlin's neighbourhoods is in fact Mitte, the central, upper-class, business-district that caters mostly to people working in the political and financial sectors (Berlin.de, das offizielle Hauptstadtportal: Statistik). Because a big part of the non-Germans inhabiting Mitte are not culturally speaking seemingly distant from the German majority, and the foreign languages mostly heard in this area are English and French, a discourse on its foreignness or separateness from the rest of society has never taken off in the same way as in relation to Neukölln or Kreuzberg. Mandel explains that "this is understandable in light of the social hierarchy within German society, where Turks[16] have long stood at the bottom of the social ladder." (2008, 146).

One of the most famous of anti-ghettoization measures in Berlin was the *Zuzugssperre*, in relation to which Ruth Mandel examines the "us and them" dichotomy and the ways in which fear of the foreign has been dealt with in state's public policy. (Mandel 2008, 147). Resulting from the German public's widely vocalized fear of ghettoization and formation of parallel societies, measures limiting the number of immigrants living in one neighbourhood were put into action in 1975. The rule was that no neighbourhood could have a "foreign" population amounting to more than 12% of the total number of residents. In practice this meant that persons with ethnic background were not allowed to move to the three most "foreign" boroughs of Berlin at the time: Kreuzberg, Wedding and Tiergarten. When people were not allowed to live in the neighbourhoods legally, they were forced to do it illegally. (Mandel 2008, 147-148). The situation was paradoxical because at the same time German majority's negative attitudes toward ethnic minorities impeded migrants' ability to find housing in other areas in the city,

16 Although a lot of the ethnographic and other scientific material I am using focuses on the Turkish minority group, the arguments made also describe a more general attitude towards all seemingly foreign and culturally distant groups of whom "the Turk" has become the common signifier. Immigrants from Southern Europe, Middle-East and North Africa have consistently described that in Germany they are seen and treated as "Turks" (Goddar & Huneke 2011, 67; Yalcin-Heckmann 2002).

while many Germans refused to move to the areas that they already perceived as ghettos.

It was not only the collective nature of the guest workers' respective cultures that caused the concentration of ethnic groups in certain neighbourhoods. During the guest worker programme the labour migrants were located in big residential complexes called *Wohnheime.* These were big highly modernist-style apartment building complexes, where the guest workers resided in cramped-up conditions often sharing a room with several other people or sleeping in dormitories. The areas where the *Wohnheime* are located still are districts with a high number of residents with "immigration background" today. Though the *Zuzugssperre* has since then been annulled (it was finally abolished in 1990) similar attitudes still prevail regarding the social segregation of society. It is noteworthy that most of the time the negatively experienced development of such "ethnic" neighbourhoods is "blamed" on the immigrants, although in reality the decisions made by the German state during the guest worker programme have played a great role in this development. Furthermore, the "ethnic" neighbourhoods are what one might call "working-class" districts, where rents are more affordable. Due to the relatively low economic situation of many "guest worker families" it is no wonder that these people live in these neighbourhoods. This however does not directly[17] have to do with factors such as ethnicity or culture, but rather with social class. Economic factors should not get over-ridden by ethnic and social stigmatization in reviews of such urban developments (Uslucan 2012, 31-35).

Public surveys have shown time and time again that ethnic minorities in Berlin suffer from particularly poor socio-economic conditions (Uslucan 2012, 53; 68-73; Interviews 6 and 7). It seems that the obsession over ghettos and parallel societies exhibited by the public discourse in Germany is significantly linked to this observation. The public debate has concentrated in finding the reasons behind this development either in the lack of policies or in the kinds of policies that exist – or as as often seems to be the case, in the group of immigrants themselves pointing to their culture, attitudes or even to what we might call racial factors, as for example Sarrazin famously does in his 2010 book (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010; 5). Vertovec and Wessendorf note that "rather than failed multicultural policies, such traits [unemployment, poverty, lack of education etc.]

17 As for example Uslucan, Kaddor and Mandel have observed ethnicity, race or cultural factors link to structural inequalities and thus do influence the socioeconomic status of migrant families, but it is not the inherent qualities of their culture or lifestyle that would be the cause of the situation but rather issues of discrimination and the like.

are more likely to have developed and been sustained by sheer discrimination, labour market dynamics and geographies of deprivation." (ibid., 16). Uslucan emphasizes that the reasons behind such statistics cannot be blamed on the cultural backgrounds of these population groups, but rather stem from structural inequalities that are also related to social class. Such inequalities contribute to a situation where it is more common for children from upper-class families to follow their parents' example and gain a high level of education. Children from lower and working-class families have structurally speaking weaker possibilities to move up on the social ladder (2012, 70).

A similar conclusion is made by Susan Brit Hyatt in her study of the ways in which the political ideologies in the U.S. have framed poor neighbourhoods and the reasons behind their deprivation. According to her study, signs of "ghettoization" such as broken windows and dirty pavements have been publicly blamed on the residents of these areas, although the real reason for the poor state of the neighbourhood is in fact a result from the withdrawal of the State and its neglect. (2011, 118-119).

The more collective nature of many non-European cultures has also facilitated the formation of neighbourhoods with a significant number of immigrants. Aspects that German discourses have illustrated as signs of ignorance, arrogance, hostility or resistance might in fact be cultural elements that have become misinterpreted by the public. Cultures that place great value on communal life and the relationships between members of the community are more likely to emphasize the importance of living within close vicinity from each other and to spend much of their time together, and different spheres (work, study, religious life, family life) are less likely to be as distinctly separated to their respective fields as is the case in western cultures (Uslucan 2012, 32).

Particularly problematic is the nature of the interpretations of the situation that understand unwanted and undesired elements that disturb the German ideal as essentially foreign, and thus as signs of islamization or *Überfremdung* caused by the presence of foreigners in the country. This results easily in a situation where elements that take a negative value, things that are considered *bad,* become automatically linked to foreignness and thus to foreigners. Pegidas arguments exemplify this point in the ways they connect crime, threat of violence, and poverty with immigration. Argumentation that finds the cause of the situation in the immigrants' culture, ethnicity

or religious background are used to justify integration programmes that aim at educating the minorities on “good” western values and ways of living. Paradoxically, inherent in such views is often an idea of the impossibility of integration of certain groups as I have described earlier (See for example Uslucan 2012, Mandel 2008).

As other critiques of multiculturalism do, the Pegida movement also uses argumentation typical for the idea of equality understood as uniform treatment for all, and suggests that those who do not fit in are a liability. This view criticizes multiculturalism and its belief in the equal value and worth of all cultures and identities as naive and even dangerous. It calls for a national and European Realpolitik that regulates immigration and the presence of foreign cultures and religions in the countries of the European Union – and most of all – secures the survival of the European culture and heritage against foreign influences, especially Islam. In these views, difference becomes a semantic synonym for inequality and socio-economic deprivation, which according to this logic can only be solved by erasing difference through the promotion of homogeneity and unity. This kind of view is guilty of not only the 'unrealistic' and 'romantic' goals of unity and uniformity it promotes, but also of confusing the idea of integration with that of complete assimilation.

The line between integration and assimilation is a thin one. Many scholars have emphasized that integration should not be interpreted as a one-way assimilation process, in which minority groups take on the culture and characteristics of the dominant group. Instead, integration should refer to a self-conscious project that involves the whole society, in the course of which all parties involved make conscious efforts to learn about the cultures of the different groups and assign each other mutual respect and recognition. This view on integration is quite idealistic, and in practice integration is often used as a synonym for assimilation. As I have described, individuals and groups that stand out from the German majority are often criticized due to their lack or inability to 'integrate'. It is clear that in these kinds of accusations the issue is often not the lack of integration but of assimilation. (Uslucan 2012, 31-39; Kaddor 2011, 104-105).

Against this framework, the *Stadtteilmütter* project, with its objectives of integration and education, could be classified as a post-multiculturalist integration project, one that – at least superficially – does not facilitate a pluralism of values, but instead the unity of them. In doing so, the project answers to the publicly articulated wish for a promotion

of unified national values and the unity of worldviews in the country. Although in my analysis I will show that this is only the case on an external level, and in the practice of their work the women operate according to their own understandings of the situation, informed by their own values that have developed through a negotiation between their cultural backgrounds and the commonly accepted values of their community as much as by the German values and concepts that they have adopted.

In addition to the value of unity two more aspects of German culture become curiously tangible in the *Stadtteilmütter* project: the concept of *Bildung* and the strong ideology of work, which I have mentioned earlier. Placing social policy projects under the command of *JobCenter* and emphasizing integration to the *Arbeitsmarkt* (job market) as synonymous with social and cultural integration does reveal something essential about work as an important value. *Bildung* is highlighted by the educational aspects of the programme that seek to engage immigrant women in "self-cultivation". Also the view that the German institutions have about immigrant children who do not do well at school as essentially alienated from society and "at risk" of not integrating well into society, refers to this same value of *Bildung*. To make a somewhat extreme interpretation of this issue, it could be said that the collective and family-centred perspectives of immigrants' cultures are seen as being in the way of proper integration, where integration refers to an individualistic project of self-education and integration through education and the job market. In the practice of everyday life these issues do not appear as mutually exclusive, although the above mentioned viewpoints hint to this direction. I will discuss this in more detail in chapters four and five. In the theoretical discussion that follows I will turn my attention to theories of cultural change and continuity with a focus on values and morality, and the related concepts of humiliation and alienation.

3 Values and alienation in cultural change

At the heart of my study lies the way the women working in the project interact with the values and categories that guide German political culture and policy planning that I have discussed in the previous chapter. In addition to encounters with the German majority, these values and categories are introduced to their lives by the bureaucratic institutions they work for and the training they have gone through in the process of becoming qualified *Stadtteilmütter*. The aspect of this interaction I have chosen to

concentrate on, are the ways the mothers react to the values and categories that the institution expresses, and the ways they interpret them in their life and work, thus incorporating them in their worldviews in various ways. I understand the kind of transformation the women's worldviews are going through as a process of cultural change, at the core of which we find different ideas about good society and good life, and the values and norms these entail. Following Louis Dumont, Joel Robbins and Marshall Sahlins I have adopted a structuralist approach to the scrutiny of these processes of cultural change characterized by interaction between values, but with an inclination toward an analysis of the good. Thus theoretical ideas from anthropological discussions on values and anthropology of morality are added to further spice things up in terms of theory.

As Marshall Sahlins and later Joel Robbins have theoretically discussed, in their everyday life people apply their cultural concepts in their attempts to encompass what is happening to them (Robbins 2005, 3-5.) I take this to be the case also when immigrant communities become caught in the practices of policies. The premises of the mothers' interpretations of the situation of change are guided by their cultural concepts, values and categories that do not always work one-to-one with the hegemonic German ones that guide the implemented policies. In such a situation people's existing conceptions, values and categories become questioned and hence people become aware of them in a new way.

Louis Dumont saw values (to which all other cultural ideas are according to him linked) to be in the heart of cultures, and stated that by the scrutiny of value systems anthropologists could reveal the structuring premises of the societies that they study, and while doing so reveal essential aspects of their own cultures against which the comparison is made. For Dumont cultures are organized first and foremost by their paramount value(s) that is assigned a corresponding high standing in society. In his extensive study of India, Dumont formulated a theoretical distinction between hierarchy (social order) and that of (political) power. He argued that unlike western societies, in India hierarchy is separated from and superior to power. What he meant by this, is that in Indian society the social organization was based on hierarchy that through its encompassing nature recognizes all values (not excluding political power) by attributing to them a lower rank in the cultural whole. (Dumont 1980, 234-239).

As discussed by Otto and Willerslev (2013, 12), in Dumont's theory the concept of hierarchy encompasses the contrary: it is the notion of levels in his theory that allows societies to incorporate value contradictions. This concept of hierarchy explains how the Indian society, as Dumont's example of a specific holistic culture, deals with the diversity of values and the contradictions that stem from them (Dumont 1980, 234-239.) According to Iteanu, such a hierarchical society can be understood as an ordered diversity where each element, "idea-and-value" as Dumont called them, has its place. This means that values are harmoniously ordered in their respective domains. (Iteanu 2009, 333). In contrast to this, Dumont saw the western individualistic cultures as holding (political) power as the greatest value, to an extent that hierarchy becomes indistinguishable from it. From this point of view all hierarchical relations become seen as mere power relations. In Iteanu's interpretation, where Dumont characterized hierarchy as encompassing, he saw power as dominating. From this derives a situation where power "endlessly attempts to reduce all other values to itself, including hierarchy, otherwise it excludes them", hence the western society appears as "a homogeneous field of potentially comparable elements (individuals)." (Ibid.)

The theoretical formulations from Dumont draw a seemingly simplistic binary opposition between that what we call western modernity, that is the Euro-American capitalist or individualistic culture and non-Western holistic cultures, and it can be criticized for neglecting the diversity and pluralism of cultures that do not neatly fall into one or the other of these two categories (as so many of Dumont's critics have pointed out). My intention is not to fall into the trap of such generalization or simplification. Instead I use Dumont's idea about holistic and individualistic values as analytical concepts that help me to structure the analysis and explain the reactions that an interaction between different worldviews causes in my case study. Instead of taking values to be matters of individual consciousness Dumont located them within culture (Robbins 2004, 11.) Dumont's view assigns agency to "culture" as an entity. My approach takes values to be inherently cultural but becoming meaningful in the actions of people in their everyday life.

Joel Robbins has shown in his ethnography of the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea that not all non-western cultures are necessarily "holistic" in Dumont's sense of the word. The alternative Robbins describes is that of a relational culture that holds creating and maintaining relationships as the paramount value in society (Robbins 2004, 292-293.)

Dumont, as Robbins has pointed out, did not state that all cultures are simply either individualistic or holistic, but in addition to confessing that the cultures of Papua New Guinea are as badly described by both of these systems (Robbins 2004, 13; 291) Dumont also emphasized that each culture is characterized by certain dynamism between holistic and individualistic elements (Robbins & Siikala 2014, 122.)

The example I have given in the previous chapter about the holistic idea of *Volk* and the individualistic way of perceiving the person in German culture is a case in point. Instead of looking at cultures from such a totalizing view as Dumont practised, I look into the everyday context of value struggles in relation to integration policy in Neukölln. For my study the useful aspect of Dumont's theory is the point he makes about cultural values as important elements in how people make sense of the world (Robbins 2004, 290-291.) Also the way that Dumont saw individualistic and holistic values to create conflicts in situations where they are not hierarchically positioned is revealing in relation to understanding how values work in different sociocultural settings. I will now move on to a more detailed account on the structuralist approach to the study of change and values.

3.2 A structuralist approach to cultural change

I find the richness in Dumont's theoretical formulations in the emphasis he places on values as the core of understanding how cultural meanings take shape and mould political and social life. Joel Robbins asserts that the study of cultural values can significantly contribute to the anthropological study of morality, because, as he suggests, morality is grounded in cultural values. Robbins writes that ”...moral action consists in carrying out a practice correctly in the right context such that appropriate values are realized.” (Robbins 2012, 122.) Thus the Dumontian approach to value is closely linked to the theory of comparison, and the study of morality in Anthropology.

Joel Robbins takes culture to be an organizing set of values and categories (or symbols and representations) that entails relations between values and values, categories and categories, and values and categories, which also includes relationships of contradiction. According to this way of understanding culture, value contradictions do not only emerge out of encounters between different cultures, but also exist within cultures. Robbins also makes an important point about the significant influences cultural values have on each other. He writes that “elements are outside of a particular culture only

when they are both not related to any elements in that culture and when their non relation is not itself understood as a significant relational fact within that culture." (Robbins 2004, 6). This point is useful in relation to my discussions in the next chapters where I show how modern western values and categories sometimes serve as a push factor for change already before the act of immigration.

In Sahlins' and Robbins' structuralist analysis of cultural values and cultural change, focus is placed on the analysis of the relations that exist between values and categories. The types of cultural change can then be analysed through the scrutiny of these structures and whether it is the form (the structure) or the content (the actual values or categories) that changes in the new situation. This structuralist school to the scrutiny of such cultural change provides us with the analytical tools to be applied in the study of interaction between culture specific values and categories.

What happens when different cultural values collide? Scholars in the structuralist tradition have pointed out several different forms and reactions that such cultural encounters have resulted in. Marshall Sahlins is one of the most prominent anthropologists in such a study of interaction between cultures. He has sketched out three theoretical models regarding the kinds of reactions that result from such an interaction. The first one of Sahlins' models in his structuralist theory of change is that of assimilation. He explains that in order to understand change one has to look at the ways in which people use cultural orders to shape their construction of, and action in, the world. When people act, they apply their cultural constructs in referring to the world, thus establishing a "structure of the conjuncture", which becomes the practical realization of cultural values and categories. Most of the time, the world conforms well to these categories, because most of the time people have created it through the application of those same categories in earlier acts of reference. Change is most likely to occur when these categories do not match the world that they are applied to. The disharmony between the categories and the world then forces the categories to stretch, leading to an alteration of cultural meanings, and adoption of new functional values. The structure of the conjuncture is put to the test, and as a result the culture changes. In this form of change, it is only the values and categories that change, and not their relation, and therefore the impact that the change has on the culture can be relatively mild. (Sahlins 1985, vii-xiv). As Robbins writes: "even as they [categories] change

somewhat, their successful application also constitutes a reproduction of traditional cultural understandings in the face of new realities." (Robbins 2004, 7.)

The second one of Sahlin's models is that of "structural transformation", where instead of the content it is the relations between categories that change. This means that the same familiar categories remain in play, but the relations between them have changed. The third model, and the most relevant in relation to my study is "modernization" that is most characterized by a "self-conscious effort to take on a new culture" (Robbins 2004, 9). Sahlins writes that "[People] must first learn to hate what they already have, what they have always considered their well-being. Beyond that, they have to despise what they are, to hold their own existence in contempt – and want, then, to be someone else." (Sahlins 2005 [1992], 24). This form of change derives from a deep sense of humiliation and debasement that drives people to willingly abandon their familiar culture and seek out new alternatives. Sahlins emphasizes that in order to have effect, humiliation as a push-factor for change has to occur in the culture's own terms, and thus change is not caused by coercion, but the reasons for change are to be found in the changing culture itself. This type of cultural change is most characteristic among immigrants who come to view some aspects of their traditional culture as degrading in one way or the other. Robbins summarizes Sahlins' theory as follows: "In saying this, he [Sahlins] is arguing that the stimulus for this kind of radical cultural change is itself cultural; the humiliations that drive radical change must themselves be made sensible in a particular cultural frame of reference." (Robbins 2004, 9).

It is with Sahlins' last formulation of a theory of change that I now turn to the concepts of humiliation and alienation in an attempt to construct an analytical understanding of them as a thrust of, and as symptomatic of, cultural change. After this I will briefly discuss anthropology of values and morality before moving on to ethnographic description in chapter four.

3.3 Alienation and humiliation in the hands of "evil bureaucrats"

Policies sometimes appear to us almost as living creatures. In some fundamental way they seem to have agency, a mind of their own, like they would not be 'man made' at all. This is because policies create action, they shape our environments, create categories and mould the understandings we have of ourselves as part of society (Shore and Wright 2011, 3.) In this sense, social policy creates social products that have become so

incorporated in our common sense that they appear to us as real things or facts (Shore and Wright 2011, 8.) James C. Scott writes that

> if a planned social order is better than the accidental, irrational deposit of historical practice, two conclusions follow. Only those who have the scientific knowledge to discern and create this superior social order are fit to rule in the new age. Further, those who through retrograde ignorance refuse to yield the scientific plan need to be educated to its benefits or else swept aside. (1998, 94).

It is this sense of a gap between the policy makers and the people targeted that further enhances the negative connotation public policy and bureaucratic institutions (and bureaucracy in general) have. The word policy is reminiscent of the Kafkaesque nightmares of bureaucratic procedures that alienate the little people trapped in a machine that produces uniform measures to encounter human problems and plan human lives.

Bureaucrats and policy officials appear to have become something similar to what Hannah Arendt calls *animal laborans*, which is human beings who ”make” instead of ”act” (Arendt 1998 [1958], 22.) This common image of the ”evil” bureaucratic institutions describes well the feelings of frustration, hopelessness, helplessness and even fear or hatred that the alienation related to policy can cause. The sense of alienation causes an awareness that manifests itself in different forms of struggle to create meaning. Thus policies are constantly contested and even resisted by the sceptical subjects, who often are perfectly aware of what is expected of them by the faceless policy institutions, but nevertheless struggle to fit those expectations (Shore and Wright 2011, 1; Però 2011, 223.) In addition to active resistance and struggle, people can also remain passive or alienated, which has been the case among some immigrants in Neukölln.

In a general sense policy making does not only diminish the people working in the field into plain components of a bigger whole, but also does the same with the society it targets. In relation to her concept of action, Hannah Arendt writes about the doer or “agent” that ”the moment we want to say *who* somebody is, our very vocabulary leads us astray into saying *what* he is; we get entangled in a description of qualities he necessarily shares with others like him; we begin to describe a type or a ”character” ...with the result that his specific uniqueness escapes us.” (Arendt 1998 [1958], 181). If this, as Arendt argued, is a problem of the modern society then it is particularly a problem of policy making.

Also Oberfield has noted the role that social classification plays in policy making. He writes that

> ...bureaucrats' main tasks is people categorization: welfare caseworkers divide their caseloads into types of recipients ...”citizens” ...”criminals”; police patrol men categorize deservingness and suspiciousness based on physical appearance, social status and employment; and public defenders arrange better plea deals for criminal suspects who they see as ”hard-working” or ”nice”. ...they make determinations about which traits or individuals are deserving of public aid. These determinations rely, to some extent, on the ...perceptions of which groups an individual belongs to and the group's moral reputation. (Oberfield 2014, 14).

Oberfield assigns race and ethnicity an eminent role in the categorization process. He notes that the moral reputation of a group is highly defined by the extent to which the group can be seen as responsible for its problems. (Oberfield 2014, 14). In the context of Berlin, as I have tried to show in the previous chapters, guilt and responsibility has been placed on the shoulders of immigrants who are portrayed as reluctant, resistant and even hostile, and claimed to have no intention of even trying to integrate to the community of value. In dominant discourse immigrants are said to bring with them crime and backward worldviews that facilitate customs that break the moral order of liberal Germany (such as girls' circumcision, honour killings, oppression of women, terrorism, anti-Semitism and homophobia) (Yalcin-Heckmann 2002, 309; see also Bunzl 2005, Rothberg and Yildiz 2011).

In his extensive ethnography on South American peasants' reactions to the capitalist way of production and the cultural change it brought about in their lives, Taussig observes the development of a devil cult that mediates the local peasants' sense of alienation when entering the proletariat and being introduced to the new ideology of global capitalism. Taussig's analysis focuses on the fetishization of evil that mediates the conflict between the pre-capitalist and the capitalist modes of objectifying the human condition. In Western capitalism he places particular interest on the scrutiny of commodity fetishism, which he sees as its most crucial feature in triggering the experiences of alienation in the peasants he observed. (Taussig 1980, xvi). In Taussig's study the cultural change in the peasant communities of Cauca Valley, Colombia and in the Tin Mines of Bolivia, as so often is the case, came about through structural changes in the economy and forms of production. Their experience represents a historically and socially specific development, although such shifts have taken place all over the world in the modern era. Despite its cultural and historical specificity, I find the theory Taussig develops in the course of his analysis useful in relation to the mothers' reactions toward

the institutional culture they are introduced to, which dictates much of the conditions in which they work and their community lives.

The importance of cultural values as a trigger for experiences of alienation is highlighted also in Taussig's ethnography. He describes the devil cult as a way for the peasants to deal with the new inequality that the capitalist economy has brought about, which contrasts with their traditional values of communalism and equality in production. Taussig writes that “Sorcery ...cancels inequalities in this society of insecure wage earners in which competition pits individualism and communalism against each other.” (1980, 109).

In a similar way as Taussig, Robbins discusses several aspects of the Urapmin's daily lives, which he takes as expressions of an alienation in relation to aspects of Christian individualism the Urapmin have difficulties accepting. He takes the recurring apocalyptic dreams that the Urapmin have as a sign of their inability to square individualism as a paramount value with the traditional Urapmin culture that holds the maintenance and construction of relationships as the highest value. (Robbins 2004, 299). Despite the willingness and desire to take on a new culture, the Urapmin struggle with its paramount concepts that are essentially different from their traditional ones. Although the *Stadtteilmütter* and the immigrant communities of Neukölln express a very different and specific sort of alienation, interpreted against these accounts from Taussig and Robbins, I take them to have, theoretically speaking, similar origins.

Taussig describes the capitalist culture as dismissing the fact that the essential 'building blocks' of our experience are social constructs instead of natural things. This objectification of social life happens, according to him, through an object-making process that abstracts concepts from their social context making them appear as real things. By stating this, Taussig wishes to highlight the superstitious and ideological character of the central myths and categories of our own culture – which we come to perceive as 'real' in some fundamental way. Thus an awareness of the commonplace, or self-awareness, an analytical view that does not take such concepts for granted is necessary for analysis in order to produce knowledge of cultural phenomena that does not fall into the trap of reconstructing these myths. (Taussig 1980, 4).

In the ethnographies of Robbins and Taussig the issue of alienation gets a theoretical explanation. It seems that the mythical aspects, which the new cultural logic takes in the

minds of the people to whom it is introduced, create feelings of alienation that are linked to sense-making processes. These attempts to make sense of new concepts and values can result in cultural change that becomes characteristic of the community.

Another effect that cultural encounters can have on people is a feeling of humiliation or debasement that results in conscious efforts to take on a new culture or some elements of it. The willingness to migrate is often a result from contact with "modernity" that serves as a push factor in the decision-making process. Moving from the countryside to a big city can be one such encounter with the modern, urban ways of life that often contrast strongly with the traditional way of life in the village. Additionally the push factors for change can also originate in the communalism of the traditional culture, such as the wish to financially support one's family and kinship group, and a desire to integrate to the global market economy resulting from this.

3.4 Values and morality

As mentioned earlier, values play a significant role in Dumont's structuralist theory of culture. Joel Robbins has further developed a theory of values and morality in relation to cultural change. In this part, I will look at how theoretical ideas about cultural change combined with those of values and morality can be used as a framework for the analysis of the moral landscapes that guide the *Stadtteilmütter* project and the people who it targets.

The ideas about cultural values as core elements of cultural change are introduced to my study through the structuralist theories of Dumont, Sahlins and Robbins as I have explained. What interests me in their theories, is the idea about relationships between cultural values and categories[18] as structuring premises of people's worldviews and moral landscapes, and how through the scrutiny of these relationships we can learn about cultural change. The stumbling block in their theories is their totalizing and monolitic interpretation of cultures as distinct entities. Such a view on culture is also expressed by the multiculturalists as well as their opponents I have described in the previous chapter. In my study culture is understood as something that consists of different strands of cultural values, concepts and interpretations. Rather than distinct "cultures" that can clash, there exists cultural ideas and values that become meaningful

18 With "category" I mean the cultural and social ideas, concepts and classifications that structure the way people perceive the world and are thus the premises of their worldviews. I do not see them as static or monolithic, but as dynamic and constantly in interaction with each other. Some categories form oppositional pairs, others completely exclude each other.

only in the action and worldviews of the people who hold them. These elements do not form a static entity, but a dynamic process of making sense of the world and creating meaning. Cultural values cross “borders” and take on new meanings when people adopt them and make interpretations of them.

Regarding anthropology of morality Joel Robbins points out that the field of study remains “woefully underspecified“ (2007, 293.) Robbins observes that in its widest sense morality has become understood as a kind of an equivalent of “culture“. By this he means that morality has been understood as something that guides behaviour from the most routine decisions of everyday life to the act of not killing someone despite having the motivation for it. (Ibid., 294). Robbins considers as moral action both the everyday situations in which people's behaviour is unconsciously guided by their cultural values and conventions, and the consciously moral situations in which freedom and choice play a role. He states that “theory of value can help us specify why cultures allow choice in particular domains or situations, and how such choices are felt to be moral ones by cultural actors“ (ibid., 296.) This way of understanding morality suggests that in addition to situations where cultural frameworks assign choice to play a role in the moral behaviour, there also exists more Durkheimian circumstances that are instead characterized by a morality of reproduction, that is, action that aims at maintaining cultural continuity. This, Robbins notes, allows us to “say something about the nature of cultural change“ as well as to understand the role moral discourse has in situations of change. (Ibid., 296).

In a stable situation of a morality of reproduction, values are hierarchically organized in their respective cultural domains. It is only when something disrupts the organization of values that value conflicts arise, and the morality of freedom comes into play. In such conflict situations people become consciously aware of the contradictory nature of different values and are forced to make consciously moral decisions. The theory of morality that Robbins formulates is thus a two-fold one: firstly it inspects the ethics of everyday life through the lens of morality of reproduction, and secondly the value conflicts that result in morality of freedom and choice that characterize cultural change. (Ibid., 300). Robbins also sees that the inherent value conflicts that cultures have need to be distinguished from conflicts that are caused by change (ibid.) This is an important point to make because not all value conflicts necessary result from or lead to cultural change, but they are an aspect of cultural dynamics (ibid., 300.)

This kind of a situation seems to be particularly characteristic of Western political culture due to the opposing principles, such as equality, secularism, liberty and freedom of speech, which western societies have come to hold important. My discussion in the previous chapter implicitly describes such value struggles in Germany.

This theoretical point might help us explain why public and political discourses about cultural diversity, and the reactions that people have toward immigration, are laden with moral arguments that often become a site of struggle between conflicting moral views. But it also helps to analyse some of the reactions that the people migrating have to their new environments in which the frame of reference has shifted, and people come to view their subjective cultural values and traditions in a fundamentally new, if not an objective, way.

In the previous chapter I have briefly discussed the *Zuzugssperre* that was put into practice in Berlin in the 1970s and 1980s. The situation resulting from this regulation is an example of a situation of morality of freedom that many of the immigrants (especially the Turks) had to face. In this situation they had to choose between making a moral decision in favour of their community and the collective (or holistic) value of communalism and family, or to respect the German value of order of the law and move away from their close ones. In both cases the result was a breaking of a moral norm, either in regards to German ideals of law-abidingness or the value of the family and community.

In the case of the women working in the *Stadtteilmütter* project, one such morally difficult situation is caused by the rule that forbids the women from working with German families. Although the women might hold helping others as valuable from the perspective of their religious and social morals, as many of them expressed to me, the project guidelines do not allow that. If they help German families in need they break the norm of the project and the value of lawfulness. But if they do not help these families they might end up breaking another significant value connected to helping ones in need.

With these two short examples from the field, I want to show how Robbins' ideas are relevant to the analysis of the moral lives of my informants and the interaction of values that arise in the interaction of the policy institution and the migrant women. Robbins has further discussed the nature of value pluralism. He describes two schools of thought: the monists who consider the harmonious existence of values possible (2012, 128-130.)

And pluralists who treat the conflict between values as characteristic of human condition, where one is always violating a value in the pursuit of another one. The pluralists see no solution to this situation, according to them human beings are forced to make “tragic” choices when they negotiate between such pairs of values that cannot be simultaneously respected. (Robbins 2013a, 101).

Whether value conflicts are an unavoidable part of human existence or not, Robbins' theoretical discussion convincingly links value conflicts to cultural change and morality of freedom introduced earlier in this part of the chapter. It is with these ideas that I now move on to an analysis of my ethnographic material.

4 Roots and routes: how values guide change

As I have theoretically discussed so far, a focus on cultural values and morality elicits the worldviews and meanings that guide human life and action on many levels: both in the routines of everyday life as well as in situations of change. A focus on values is particularly pertinent to studies of cultural change and encounters between cultures, understood as a collision and negotiation between different cultural values that sets forth a development of cultural transformation. In this chapter my description moves somewhere in the “borderline” of moral action and reason, using a structuralist approach to illustrate how cultural values and categories become visible through intercultural encounter, and how new values and cultural forms are created and manifested through experiences of alienation, shame, humiliation, helplessness and renegotiation of cultural and social identities. On the other side of the coin we often find an openness toward cultural diversity and learning about new cultures and languages – a willingness to take on elements of a new culture.

As I have already discussed, values are inseparable from morality and ethics. Didier Fassin writes that

> rather than viewing them [morality and ethics] as objects of reasoning and practice which can be isolated from other dimensions of human life, anthropologists are confronted with an impure domain of debates and disputes; they apprehend moral and ethical issues in their network of meaning, within their historical context and in their intricate relation with politics; again, this empirical blurring of boundaries differentiates the involvement of the social sciences as opposed to the detachment of philosophical thinking (we cannot separate moral and ethical questions from their social gangue).” (Fassin 2011, 489).

Fassin's words summarize the subject matter that anthropology deals with, and which I proceed to analyze next. When studying particular aspects of human lives, the subject matter becomes visible only in relation to the sociocultural context that as a holistic configuration sets the stage for everyday life. To study cultural change, morality and values amongst immigrant families in Berlin, is to scrutinize social organization, religion, language, identity, action and many other aspects of human existence, and to construct an understanding of what these people understand as worthy and valuable. The challenge is to locate the values, concepts and categories inherent in people's worlviews that motivate action and structure the ”messy” content of their everyday lives. Mirrored against public discourses, we do not only learn about the experiences of these immigrants, but also about the paramount values of German majority society and culture understood as what Bridget Anderson termed a 'community of value'. On a theoretical level my discussion makes explicit some of the ways in which values influence human behaviour and structure worldviews.

4.1 A new home in Germany

I will start by introducing some stories, both from my own fieldwork as well as from secondary sources, that illustrate some of the reasons and motives immigrants living in Germany have given for migration. After this I will look into similar anecdotes from the migrants' arrival in Germany and the experiences they describe from their first months and years in the country. Towards the end of the chapter I will discuss situations that migrants or people ”with migration background” have made at a very integrated stage of their lives in Germany. I try to understand what kinds of situations (or rather interpretations of situations) encourage people to make the decision to leave their home country and move to Germany, and what role values play in this process. In the case of refugees and asylum seekers the situation is naturally less based on free will and choice. Also many of the guest workers migrated due to economic pressure caused by the poor economic situation in their countries. Despite this observation, I would like to suggest that even such situations, in which migrants do not exercise much free will, bring out some culturally and socially significant values and morals that in routine situations would be marked by a morality of reproduction.

With a couple of exceptions[19], the women I interviewed had moved to Germany as young adults at the age of 17-25 years. Marriage with a man living in Germany was a

19 Some had arrived earlier or were born in Germany. Two women had moved to the country when they were already slightly older.

reason for emigration for many of them. The descriptions that the women gave followed a similar pattern: the women had been introduced to their future husband through relatives, and after the couple had met each other a few times a wedding ceremony was organized. The women would then move to Berlin, where their husband already resided. Many of them had not visited Germany or any foreign country before, and moving abroad was a big step for them. The emotional impact that moving to Germany had on the women seemed to vary between those coming from small villages and towns and the ones who come from a big city.

Women from small towns explained that moving to Germany was at the same time exciting and intimidating because urban life was new to them. Their expectations were mostly based on circulating stories that exaggerate either the negative aspects of a sinful and chaotic life in the polluted and grey city or a positive image of modern and free city life. In the beginning of their lives in the city, the women had been afraid of the dangers lurking around, but quickly got used to their new environment. A few women described feelings of shame they had experienced due to the contrast between their rural background and 'uncivilized' manners and the lifestyles of people in their new environment. They did not know how things work in big cities, how one is to interact with other people, and where and how one finds all the everyday services. One woman was laughing about her ”funny” behaviour when first moving to a bigger city in Turkey before continuing her journey to Germany. She had greeted all the people she met on the street with a 'hello' as is custom in the village. She soon realised that people in big cities only make social contact with people they know personally, and that people will look at you weirdly, if you greet them on the street without a reason. People's weird looks and stares had made her feel embarrassed about the way she had behaved. These experiences also made her realise that her old habits and customs from the village do not apply in her new environment.

Most of the women coming from bigger cities had to make significant sacrifices in their educational and professional career, which they had already started off in their home countries before marriage. Instead of speaking about hardships and negative aspects of life in Berlin after migration, they highlighted this as a negative aspect of leaving their home country. Despite these negative aspects, they had chosen to conform to the cultural conventions of arranged marriage, and to succumb to the external pressure coming from their families and social networks. They did not directly criticize the

institution or the people involved in organizing the marriage, although they all expressed regret in letting go of their careers, and said that they had been too young to get married and start a family at the time. Naturally there might have been also other, for example economic, aspects that motivated them to move to Germany in addition to the traditional marriage institution, but they did not directly mention them to me.

Employment and educational opportunities were a motivator for moving for some of the women. For example both of the project coordinators had come to Germany through educational exchange programmes, and had decided to stay because of the good career opportunities the German job market could offer to them. However, Tülay's mother was living in Berlin long before she herself moved to Germany, which influenced her decision to move to the country in her twenties and made the process somewhat easier for her.

It seems that the decision for a change in the form of starting a life in a foreign country often originates in traditional values such as the marriage institution, which is a crucial element in the framework of morals of religion and communality[20]. But also other social and familial obligations seem to work as push factors as is the case with Tülay. Many women had sacrificed the value of personal development in order to respect a traditional value. In other cases the motivator to move to Germany was the modern values that the women held in greater importance such as access to the global job market, access to high quality education and the core values of freedom and equality. Western values were emphasized especially by refugees and those who came to Germany to study or to work. One of the women, a Kurd from Turkey, had moved to Berlin as a refugee. According to her Turkish society and political system do not promote and hold important the right kinds of values that could improve the situation of Kurds in the country, and make living in the country better for everyone.

> There are changes, but for every step forward you take two steps back. Living in a country that doesn't secure your rights, that doesn't believe in equal status and importance of all groups, is not good life. It cannot be good life. Life in Germany is better because these values of equality and freedom for everyone are public values. I am really lucky to have the citizenship now because unfortunately us Kurds, we don't have our own country. Germany is my home country now, and I am greatful to be here and to learn about German culture, language and way of life. Here I also have the freedom to live a Kurdish life. (Interview 1).

20 By communality I mean the social functions that arranged marriages serve in a community's life, and the social relationships that are maintained through such social arrangements.

This example reveals the importance of freedom of cultural and religious expression and its role as a motivator for change. ”New” modern values become visible to individuals and groups when they are discriminated against or live in a restrictive situations because the inability to live a good life brings about an awareness of that what is lost. This woman sees the modern values of freedom of expression, religous freedom, and equality in Germany as a gateway to a realisation of other, traditional, values. Together these different values and concepts form an image of good life for her. In her view German core values provide space for the realisation of traditional values, and learning about German culture and language is not an obstacle to leading a ”Kurdish life”.

I will now introduce some more detailed stories from the book *Auf Zeit. Für immer. Zuwanderer aus der Türkei erinnern sich* edited by Jeannette Goddar and Dorte Huneke (2011) after which I will look deeper into what we can make of the role of values in the processes of migration.

Selahattin Biner's account on his decision to move to Germany was not only because of the poor economic situation in his home country. He explains that above all “he felt like a European”. (Goddar 2011, 30). Adventurous and full of curiosity toward the European way of life, Selahattin's enthusiasm in learning to know Germany and other European countries and their languages encouraged him to apply as a guest worker to work in Germany (ibid.) His identification with the European mentality had begun at school where the students learned English, French and German, and were acquainted with European culture from the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin to the Town Musicians of Bremen. Selahattin comes from the small town of Kirklareli close to Turkey's Bulgarian border, which also partly explains the closeness he felt to Europe. (Ibid., 30-39).

In his story, Ali Basar, also a first generation Turkish guest worker, emphasizes that he got familiar with the modern way of life already when moving to Istanbul from his home town of Tunceli (in Kurdish: Dersim). A child of a poor family run by a single mother (his father had passed away when Ali was only six years old), Ali as the oldest of the six children struggled to bring food to the table for his family. He left for Istanbul in the hopes of finding a job and being able to financially help the family, and was among the first ones to take part in the Turkish-German guest worker agreement. Ali knew Germany only from the stories of two students that he got to know in Istanbul,

who had done an internship in the country. They explained that in Germany everyone has a job and people drive big cars. In Germany life is free and comfortable. To him these stories were even more influential than the ones he had heard about Istanbul as a child. Ali explains that for him the culture shock was somewhat smaller than for those who arrived in Germany directly from their little villages and towns because life in urban Istanbul had already acquainted him with modern concepts, which made integration somewhat easier for him. (Huneke 2011, 42-44.)

Eva and Sokrates Saroglu were driven to move away from Istanbul due to the turmoil the city was going through at the time and increasing hostility towards the city's Greek minority. In 1966 almost all the Greeks were forced to leave the city, where the Greek diaspora had been living for generations. The newly married thought about their different alternatives, but there was no way of making a proper living in Greece and staying in Istanbul was not an option either, and so they decided to apply through the guest worker agreement to work in Germany. (Goddar, 67-71).

Also security and safety, work and the ability to make a living, not only for oneself but for one's family, is clearly a major determining factor in the process of migration. It seems that a combination of values and ideas is at play in such decision-making situations. The material needs could have possibly been satisfied also in Istanbul in the cases of Ali and Selahattin, but the will for a decent living – or an inspiring and stimulating life, and the desire to get better acquainted with the 'modern' way of life of Germany was another push factor in the decision-making process. This value was supported by the will to financially help out the family, which made the decision morally acceptable also from a traditional point of view. Together different values guide the decisions people make, and it seems that despite one or two values being more dominant in the situation, it is a combination of a few key-values that is required for a major life-changing decision to be made. In making such decisions people have to weigh between what is gained and what is lost, and it is the morally more significant values that get realized at the end. The immigrants' stories give a picture of how people construct they worldviews and ideas about good life by combining elements, categories and values from the different strands of culture they are acquainted with. This includes the traditional ideas of their community, but also modern ideas and influences that they have learned about in the media, in the city, from relatives living abroad and the more liberal and democratic elements of their own political landscapes. In both the

“traditional” as well as in the “modern” some elements are cherished (such as freedom), and others resisted (such as lack of moral social structure).

Both Selahattin and Ali also had their problems integrating into their new home country, but they both emphasize the openness toward European ideas, values and mentality and the willingness to learn as a key element of making a good living and adjusting to life in their new home. But even more important than that, the men describe the local friends that they made, the Germans who they spend time with and who taught them the language, the most crucial German concepts and shared German culture and tradition with them. (Goddar 2011, 31; Huneke 2011, 45).

Selahattin and Ali describe their first years in Germany as happy ones despite the hard and exhausting work and the rough living conditions in the workers' homes. The men felt also lonely and isolated at times. There were practically no “foreigners” in Dortmund, where Ali was located, which made him feel like an outsider. He spent his lunch breaks alone, the German colleagues ignored him. It continued this way until Ali met Lorenz, who he describes as different from the others:

> He sat next to me and spoke to me. “Me: Lorenz, you: ?”, “Me: Ali”. This is how our friendship started. The next day Lorenz brought me a Sinalco [a bottle of lemonade] from the store, which he had bought for me with his own money! I gave him some of my bread and made him a tea. He and his wife Edith invited me to their house. They released me from my loneliness. They have helped me a lot, the good people. When I was really sad, Lorenz put his arm around my shoulders and cheered me up. (Huneke 2011, 45).

Before meeting Lorenz Ali had experienced the role of an outsider as degrading and he jumped at the opportunity to be better integrated through friendship with Lorenz. Also, as Uslucan brings out, friendships are highly valued in the Turkish culture (both in Turkey as well as in diaspora contexts) and making friends is considered an essential aspect of a good way of life (Uslucan 2012, 80.)

Also the *Stadtteilmütter* emphasized the importance of having contact with the majority and forming friendships with Germans. This they thought would help immigrants settle in their new home, and to learn about German cultural values and ideas, as well as German language and political and legal systems. In addition to this, they also emphasized having contact with ones' own ethnic group as well as other minority groups in the city as important. They explained that some immigrants and immigrant families stay on their own and do not make contact with other groups or their own

ethnic group. This way their socialization process remains incomplete, and they become marginalized. In their work the women expressed the desire to reach out especially to such families. One of the women for example told me that some parents express unwillingness to take part in teacher-parent meetings and other events because of the feeling of inadequacy they feel due to lack of language skills. They used themselves as examples when they explained to me this issue, they said that “it is important that someone supports and encourages you to learn the language and ways of life. It is hard and scary to go and do things alone, and can be hard to find information too. That's why supportive network is so important.” (Interview 4).

The women I interviewed paid significant attention to stress that immigrants experience when arriving in a new country. A woman who had lived in Germany for over ten years expressed worry about the newcomers' lack of social networks that causes distress. She said that ”where I live everything is nearby, I don't have any problems and that's why I have felt good. I haven't had any problems. Some people who come here are suffering from stress. They are alone, everything is far away, they have problems. Luckily I didn't have such problems.” (Interview 2). During the *Stadtteilmütter* team meetings the discussion sometimes led the women to reflect on their personal histories. Talking about the actual event of emigration and the first years in Berlin evoked strong sad and nostalgic emotions in them. Despite describing their lives as happy in Germany, they remember the feelings of homesickness and the experiences of social and cultural alienation and humiliation that they experienced in the beginning.

Ruth Mandel notes that such topics as loneliness, alienation, anonymity and melancholia are central themes in minority literature in Germany, and it seems that such feelings are common to the migrant experience (Mandel 2008, 201.)

Uslucan also discusses stress experienced by migrants, which in scientific discourses has been called ”acculturation stress” (*Akkulturationsstress*). He writes that migrants' experiences of stress are often a result of a situation in which tasks such as the organization of everyday life in a modern society and integration to the majority society are experienced as too excessive demands, which the person feels that she or he is not able to meet. Uslucan underlines that such stress is often experienced when people do not have the means to deal with issues related to personally important areas of life such as family, professional life and social relationships. (2012, 32). The situation is

particularly demanding because immigrants are in a situation where they have to consider two sets of expectations and demands in their everyday life, meaning that they have to live up to the expectations of their home community while abiding to German immigration laws and learning about their new environment. More than that they also have the task of coming to terms with the aspects of their existing cultural values and ideas that influence their current situation in unprecedented ways. (Ibid., 32-33).

4.2 Alienation

There is a link between the experiences of acculturation stress and that of humiliation and alienation I have theoretically discussed in the previous chapter. As Sahlins has theorized and Robbins later discussed, it seems that it is as a result of a sense of humiliation that people are most likely to change their cultural values and ideas and to adopt elements or values from other cultures. On the other hand, however, confrontation with another culture seems to also to lead to feelings of alienation as Taussig so generously described in his in-depth ethnography. Alienation can be triggered by experiences of humiliation and stress that come about in contact with another culture in a new environment. Although such encounters might drive one to cling to the familiar, safe and intelligible, and thus to resort to one's own culture and community even more, this situation also leads to change in the ways in which the awareness of other cultures brings about a new kind of self-reflexivity and an assertive attempt to keep one's sociocultural universe intact. This sometimes results from situations in which people's cultural concepts fail to correspond with the world.

Ruth Mandel discusses the alienation in Berlin's immigrant communities through an analysis of a novel written by Kerim Edinsel who takes up this topic. In his short story *Whisky, Ayran, City busses and a park* alienation, homesickness, marginalization and loss experienced by the migrant in Germany are described in a metaphorical story of bus driver Mehmet Ali's suicide. The story depicts a migrant's plight in the foreign environment where time is money and his individual agency limited. (Mandel 2008, 199-201). Mandel interprets the story as expressing “the sense of alienation of the migrant experience by showing the multiple pressures of work, family, and money caricaturing the life of a migrant, oppressed by life in exile, longing for home.” In the story Mehmet Ali is “being overtaken, surrounded by the German crowd.” (Ibid., 200).

In Joel Robbins' study of conversion to Christianity among the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea, it seems to be the feeling of alienation in relation to the rest of the world that motivated the Urapmin to take on Chistianity, and encouraged a profound change in their culture. The peripheral status of the community that was brought about by the colonial order and Christianity, became visible to the Urapmin especially through the changing relations they have with other communities on the island. This sense of alienation triggered a sense of humiliation in the community and motivated them to take on Chistianity. (Robbins 2004, 15; 17-19). Similar feelings of alienation have motivated some migrants to leave their home countries and set themselves on a journey to Europe as the story from Selahattin Biner describes. The citation from one of the neighborhood mothers (Interview 2) I provided above points to this direction too. When she emphasizes not only the importance of social networks but also that of one's central location, where one has access to all the everyday services, she implicitly refers to alienation and marginalisation as inherently negative developments that can result from geographical isolation.

It is noteworthy that the very reason for the initiation of such a policy project aiming at integration by engaging immigrant women in social work in their community, stems from the alienation of immigrant communities that the city officials (teachers, kindergarten teachers, social workers and the like) have observed. The sense is that families “with migration background” are alienated from the society and its services, and thus unable to take advantage of the existing social services that provide security and resources for residents. A particular problem is considered to be the parents as Maria, the project leader, told me. She said that “the parents are a problem. As long as they do not know what is going on in the schools and kindergartens, as long as they don't participate and support the work of the teachers, the situation is really hard.” (Interview 6).

This comment from Maria refers to several different aspects of the situation. For one, it expresses the fear that German society has developed toward alienation that is perceived as segregation and a threat to the cultural unity of the nation. Secondly, it also reveals the theoretical rather than practical condition of German individualism. In the introduction to *Homo Hierarchicus,* Dumont writes that a “modern society acts as a whole and, at the theoretical level, thinks in terms of the individual.” (1980, 11.) This means that although German society in principle thinks in terms of the individual and

individual freedom to live the kind of life one chooses, it is at the same time able to produce pragmatic concepts that address the unity and interconnectedness of individuals, and places high value on it. At the same time Maria also emphasizes the important role that the family and the closest reference group plays in integration processes that needs to be accounted for in policy making. Here we also see how holistic values of cultural and social unity are assigned a particular importance in the sphere of the family, although such values might be held less important in other areas of life such as economics or work (Robbins 2004, 290.)

4.3 Humiliation

Although the kind of humiliation that functions as a push factor for cultural change in the first place seems to be located in the early stages of socialization to the new environment, it seems that such feelings are not uncommon even when one has adequate understanding of the culture and sufficient language skills. When one's cultural concepts do not apply to the surrounding world anymore this can cause feelings of confusion and helplessness.

In the field I observed feelings of humiliation to be crucially linked to the ways in which immigrants experience their role and status in society through their daily encounters. This self-image that is partly a reflection of the kind of feedback that one receives from members of, and via discourses of, the host society, influences greatly one's perception of oneself, as well as ideas about the possibilities and abilities one possesses (Taylor 1994.) This relates to identity creation. Kaddor explains how she always struggled with the social categories that were projected on her:

> Already as a child I had to learn that “we” are us, and the Germans are the “others”. Not only my parents taught me that, but also my German environment. My “own” people as well as the “others” did not have it easy with me because from an early age on I have always felt myself simultaneously a German and an Arab, and I always spoke both languages fluently. The fact that I felt this way, did not seem to interest anyone. For my parents I was unquestionably an Arab. For my ethnically German co-citizens I was the foreigner – in the best case the Turk. (Kaddor 2011, 75).

Her account shows how the second generation struggles with the expectations and social categories that both one's own ethnic group and the wider society puts on them.

Humiliation or negative experiences, as Uslucan points out (2012, 35-37), create a sense of helplessness in the person who has a sense of not being able to influence one's life

situation due to being judged based on external traits. Such negative experiences that can result in negative images of the self, can cause withdrawal and alienation in the immigrants. Furthermore, such experiences of humiliation and debasement can also encourage one to take on elements of a new culture, as Sahlins has suggested, and to attempt, if not complete assimilation, then a high level of integration into the "new" culture. In cases in which this attempt also turns out to be a failure due to discrimination that is based on ethnic or cultural traits, the result can be a deep sense of worthlessness or hopelessness, but also anger and determination to change the situation, as the enthusiastic involvement of the immigrant women in the *Stadtteilmütter* project shows.

In his book *Dabei und doch nicht mittendrin* (2012) Uslucan writes about his personal experiences as a Turkish person living in Berlin. He describes a very painful and humiliating experience he had when searching for an apartment. He explains how he "strategically" added his doctor title in his application documents and attempted to appear as "neutral" as possible, where his flawless German was a big help. Apparently this trick worked until the very last stage of the procedure, where he was requested to spell out his (Turkish) last name. When the person from the real estate agency realized that the name was Turkish, the tone of the conversation immediately changed, and it was announced that the apartment was suddenly no longer available. Feeling disappointed and humiliated by the incident, he explained what had happened to a friend of his (also an immigrant), who replied that "that was still not that bad. As we applied for a flat some time ago, they said to us straight away: "we have nothing for Turks here"." (2012, 35-36.) Although such negative incidents cannot be taken as the rule, it seems that they are not uncommon either. These incidents described above took place in the late 1990s but could have as well been more recent.

Lamya Kaddor describes the experiences that first her mother and later on herself made as "foreigners" in Germany. Kaddor, whose parents moved to Germany from Syria in 1976, is born and raised in Germany. After school she proceeded to study at the university, and nowadays she works as a theologian and an Islam specialist. Reflecting on her mother's negative experiences of being pointed at in a supermarket because of the headscarf she was wearing when the family first settled in Germany, she gives an account from her professional life as a teacher in Germany. She was hired to teach religion to the Muslim children in a local school in Düsseldorf. On her first day of work the teacher called her to the front of the class in order to introduce her to the children

and announced: “Dear children, this is your new Islamic religion teacher. She is called Mrs. Kaddor and she is no Turk. And now, pay attention to how well Mrs. Kaddor can speak German!”. Born and raised in Germany and holding German as her mother tongue, Kaddor describes the feeling of humiliation, shame and confusion the words of her older colleague evoked in her. (2011, 129-130). She recalls having identified with her mother's earlier feelings of shame and discomfort in that moment, and writes:

> Surely she [her mother] had felt similar as I did in this situation. They point the finger at you, even if you have done nothing [wrong]. The insult hit hard because for one, I found my *Hochdeutsch* [accent-free or dialect-free German] better spoken than hers, and secondly I saw myself as a German, which was contested in this situation. (Ibid, 130).

As I will discuss further especially in relation to identity and feelings of belonging among the second and third generation immigrants, humiliation seems to hit the ones who are better integrated and make effort in order to be an active part of the majority society somewhat harder than it does those who just arrived in the country and whose identity and national affiliations are not significantly contested in situations of discrimination or exclusion, although such treatment is naturally traumatizing for them too.

In all the aforementioned cases, humiliation and alienation seem to be strongly related to feelings of exclusion or rejection that also evoke feelings of not being “quite good enough” or possessing qualities that are in some sense considered unwanted or negative by the majority society. These kinds of qualities are often the (assumed) rural background, backwardness, lack of education, and religious affiliations, which are presented in opposition to or incompatible with modernity. Helplessness is caused by the practical realization that despite the kinds of values the person has, she or he will be judged based on stereotypical assumptions. In such views values are understood as being in a state of conflict, where “non-western” or “uncivilized” values are seen as in an open conflict with modern, western values. In this view the harmonious incorporation of both traditional and modern values is not considered possible.

The issue of identity development is extremely relevant in situations of value debates among migrants in Berlin. Identities, namely the ways in which people come to view themselves and the understanding they have of themselves in relation to other people, is at issue in situations where different values and worlviews collide. Migrants find themselves in situations in which stereotypical images limit the ways in which they are

seen and treated by the majority. Such external images influence the identity development of immigrants all the way to the second and third generation and beyond. (Uslucan 2012, 82-87; Yalcin-Heckmann 2002).

Tülay, the leader of the Schillerkiez *Stadtteilmütter*-team discussed this with me in an interview. She noted that the often idealizing images that the younger generations have of their parental culture and country of origin, and the sometimes conservative worldviews that they develop, might be an attempt to build a solid ground for one's identity, which is constantly contested. She links this tendency among younger generations to the lack of acceptance toward members of minority groups that might provoke them to turn to their roots in search of their own place in society and a means of constructing an identity that cannot be externally contested by others. (Interview 7).

Additionally, sometimes the ”conservative” or ”traditional turn” in the immigrants' identifications and affiliations is a result from the increased religious freedom they have in Germany as Mandel explains:

> For some migrants and their children having arrived in Germany from a Turkey that disallowed many Islamic expressions, the German experience presented the possibility of refashioning themselves as explicitly nonsecular in a diasporic existence. This may have been partly a reaction to the fear of a familiar Christian culture that might threaten their own and their children's attachments to their homeland, culture, and religion, but also a reaction to newly discovered freedoms of religious expression offered by liberal German society. (2008, 7).

This development has caused a lot of headache in public discussions due to the value paradox it entails. What has been hard to understand for the wider non-Muslim public is why immigrants would use their newly granted freedom to voluntarily limit it by practicing restrictive religious or cultural lifestyles.

Also Lale Yalcin-Heckmann (2002) discusses the complex trajectories that influence identity development among migrants in Germany. The picture is complicated by the different generations of immigrants who each have quite distinct views of themselves and their situations in relation to their own family members, other immigrant groups as well as the German majority. She describes an external expectation of authenticity regarding the parental generation in Germany. The representations of them in media discourses and public discussions portrays the men and fathers as dominating patriarchs and the women as subversive *Kopftuchtante* (headscarf-wearing elderly women) with rural backgrounds, who have not managed to integrate to their new home country and

speak hardly a word of German, and whose affiliations lie in the home country. Their children and grandchildren, however, are portrayed as belonging neither to their parents authentic culture nor the German community of value. When such stereotypical representations of different generations of immigrants gain enough foothold in the public sphere to influence the images people have of minority groups, they naturally also affect strongly the self-image of immigrants, as well as the affiliations they develop.

It is hard for the immigrants and their descendants to identify with Germany when this affiliation is constantly undermined and questioned by different actors from teachers to co-workers and policy officials. Hence it is no wonder that hardly any of them would call themselves Germans and sometimes people turn to their familial background in search for belonging and acceptance, which can facilitate a positive self-image.

4.4 How is change understood

Ruth Mandel discusses how the demand for a complete abandoning of the traditional culture is inherent in the concept of integration (2008, 317.) As one of the ethnically, culturally and religiously most pluralistic of Berlin's districts, Neukölln has been a recurrent topic of public discourses. Its residents have become entangled in a web of value arguments that address the issues stemming from the "problem" of diversity. In chapter two I have tried to explain the issues and debates that immigration and the presence of "foreigners" evokes in Germany. The fixation on the homogenous whole, the community of value, which shares common culture, values, history and heritage, is a main nominator in these debates. Among other scholars Ruth Mandel (2008, 218-219; 318; 321, 323), Haci-Halil Uslucan (2012) and Lamya Kaddor (2011) have discussed this issue, especially in relation to the German concept of *Leitkultur* (dominant German culture) that promotes the idea of a culturally unified whole. Mandel writes that

> [t]enacious difference that chooses not to assimilate is the problem, even a threat – again, how can there be a "foreign German"? In a symbolically similar call for mass repatriation of Turks, assimilation signifies disappearance, accomplishing the same task. In today's Germany much of the political rhetoric implies that competing images of Turkishness [or foreignness more generally] need to be governed by an ambiguous logic of, for some, associated with the elusive dream of a *Leitkultur*. (2008, 317-318).

Mandel continues that "German political rhetoric (especially on the right) at times reduces aliens, Turks in particular, to figures of social misfits, of the threatening enemy

from the Orient, despite their participation in German society since for close to half a century.” (2008, 231). Mandel links this attitude to a fear of a heterogeneous society that persists in Germany (ibid, 231), which also Rothberg and Yildiz have noted in their study (2011).

The women I interviewed seemed to resist this interpretation of integration that sees it as a synonym for assimilation. It is hard to say whether or not the women are consciously aware of such a demand of assimilation. They repeatedly told me that integration does not mean giving up one's own culture, but rather widens one's horizons and offers more choice and freedom, a possibility to take the best out of both cultures. One of the women for example said that ”one learns, but one doesn't have to take everything. One can come to terms with both cultures, and with both things.”. (Interview 1). They found integration crucial for the well-being of immigrants and the society as a whole, but did not see it as a one way process of assimilation, but rather as a mutual project that can benefit the German majority too. One of the mothers explained that when she first arrived in Germany the streets were empty and there was a lack of communal activities in the Kiez. Now that Germany has more immigrants this has changed, one sees people on the streets with their families and in the parks playing together. A lot of cheap restaurants have opened their doors also for those with lesser incomes, and this way everyone has benefited from the cultural influences and services the migrants have brought with them to Germany. (Interview 1).

The women seemed to be open toward German concepts and values. They for example told me that they are happy if their children make friends with their German peers, and that the recent influx of German families to Neukölln as a result of gentrification is a positive thing because only through contact with Germans the immigrant families can find their place in the society. They also emphasized Germany's educational system as a great chance for their children to develop themselves futher and explore their possibilities. They also told me how important it is for them that their children learn about their roots and traditional ways of life, but they did not see these values in contradiction with integration.

The women express a kind of cosmopolitan identity, one that mixes elements that they have come to understand as good or desirable. Although their expression is very mixed, their traditional values appear as crucial to determining which other elements they find

good or acceptable. For example cultural plurality and interaction across cultural, social and ethnic borders is desired and found good by the women, but at the same time they would not want to see their children to take on all the aspects of German lifestyle. They recognize that the German youth has a very different image of family that places less value on respecting and supporting one's parents. But this does not mean that they would not want their children to spend time with German children who might have a bad influence on their offspring. Although the women have nothing against German cultural influences and do not seem particularly worried about their children taking on bad habits from their German peers, they told me that many other migrant families are particularly worried about this aspect. Experiencing the influence of the majority culture and society as corrupt is not completely uncommon among minorities. Such attitudes reflect a conflict in values such as personal development and freedom and the religious norms that forbid aspects of German youth culture that are experienced as normal by the majority (such as drinking, smoking, swearing, and having a boyfriend or a girlfriend).

5 How do the women operate between values that are in contradiction?

In this chapter I will turn to the scrutiny of the values that the women hold important and the kind of moral landscape that they see desirable in an attempt to construct an image of what they consider as good life. Special attention will be paid to contradictions between different values, and how the women deal with such conflict situations that in their community are indeed abundant. The combination of values and concepts that result from the interaction between different cultures encompasses elements from both the traditional as well as the modern, but cannot be reduced to either one of these or described as simply a mix between the two. It is to be understood as different from both of its starting points. This means that these (old and) new cultural concepts operate according to a logic of their own, although they are born out of a collision between different cultural cosmologies.

Moral demands are directed at immigrant communities from several directions: not only from the majority culture of the community of value that has created ways of measuring the attributes of different groups, and ranking them in relation to one another according to how well they have managed to take on German values and to integrate. Moral expectations also exist in reference to other immigrant groups, the original community in the country of origin, as well as one's own ethnic group and family. The often

contradictory expectations and demands of these different groups cause problems in the everyday life of migrant families.

I will now describe the relationship the women have with the policy institution(s) and their role in the bureaucratic system. After that, I will draw a more general picture of the women's moral landscapes, and finally, in the last part, I focus on the inter-generational aspects of living in a situation of change.

5.1 Relationship with the institution and bureaucratic role

In the interviews I directly asked the women about how they had learned about the *Stadtteilmütter* project and what motivated them to participate in it. One of the women told me that she had first heard about the project from a relative of her husband, who was working in the project as well as from a neighbour who had been visited by the neighbourhood mothers. Her relative had encouraged her to apply to work in the project. She had said “come along, the work is really interesting and fun too”. She was interested in the ten themes of the project, which she found important for her family as well as for herself. At the time she was taking part in an intensive German language course, but because she describes herself as “always on the go”, and as someone who cannot just stay home and “do nothing”, she decided to apply to work in the project. (Interview 3).

I asked what in the ten themes especially interested her, and whether she had problems at home that she thought the project could help her deal with, she replied that in her family there were not any big problems, but that she had noticed some issues in her wider social circle. A good friend of hers had problems with her son: the child had not learned to speak properly and she was suspecting that it might be because the mother had only showed him Teletubbies on the television. She thinks that such television shows can have a bad influence on the development of a child. “All families have these kinds of problems. Sometimes they get solved on their own with time. Sometimes help is required.” (Interview 3).

The example she gives describes the kinds of issues that the women often engage with. In relation to this example the sometimes demonized images of the immigrant communities and the problems they are assumed to have (such as violence and crime) seem quite far away from the reality of their lives. These sorts of problems are present in all population groups and cannot be taken as special characteristics of immigrant

groups. Although language development is an extremely relevant issue in bilingual families, where special attention needs to be payed to this aspect. This woman also emphasized social networks as very important for the well-being of immigrant families who do not have anyone to turn to when they need help. Being able to provide moral support to families motivates her in her work. The importance of social and moral support had become especially clear to her when she herself immigrated to Germany thirteen years ago in her early twenties. She left her whole family behind in order to follow her husband to Germany, and in Berlin her only social network consisted of her husband and his family. She says that nowadays she considers her husband's family members as her family, but in the beginning it was hard for her to be without her own family and friends in a new country. (Interview 3).

The account this woman gave to me is very close to the accounts given by the other women, and I have thus chosen to present it here as a very representative example of the ways in which the women got in touch with the project and ended up participating in it. The women emphasized the interest they had toward the project's ten themes and the social aspects of the work. They were determined to help people in need and to facilitate community building in Neukölln across cultural and religious borders.

In a way the mothers provide a protecting shield and take up a role of a mediator between the 'evil bureaucrats', as pictured in popular imagination (Oberfield 2014; 1), and the residents caught in the midst of different governmental agencies and their requirements. And indeed, despite Oberfield's observation that some bureaucrats are ”friendly, comfortable with bending the rules and driven by a strong sense of public service” (ibid; 1), I have yet to meet a person who would have had a pleasant experience at Berlin's notorious *Ausländerbehörde* (Immigration authority: The State institution that every immigrant will get to know during the application process for residence permit, citizenship or a visa). As one of the mothers put it in an interview: ”we are like families, like friendships, in this way it is also better [for the people] to open the doors. We are like guests, we know the cultures also well, we are no strangers, no Youth office, no school inspectors, somebody from the kindergarten, instead we are friends” (Interview 5). This illustrates well the community feeling and close personal ties the women develop with the people they work with. The language is extremely affective, the metaphors of family and friendship create a sense of solidarity and empathy normally absent in the sector of bureaucratic institutions.

In Joel Robbins' study of the Urapmin, he emphasizes the important role that the Big men took in the society as mediators between the traditional culture and that of the newly introduced Christianity. (2004, 26-27.) In Taussig's case it was the religious domain that mediated the conflict between the traditional beliefs and the new capitalist order (1980, xvi.) It seems that the role of mediators is very important in situations of rapid change, where people struggle to make sense of their lives and the world that suddenly does not correspond with their cultural logic.

The binary opposition between immigrants and Germans does not aptly illustrate the complex reality of inter-relations between different population groups. The Schillerkiez-leader, Tülay, took up this aspect. We discussed how in the policy making institutions an image of immigrants and Germans as culturally incompatible groups persists, and how this social categorization is then applied also in policy planning and policy making. When I asked her what she thinks the reasons are behind this classification, she told me that it is generally thought that the reasons for the socially deprived position of immigrant families are different from the causes of similar situations among the original population. Or at least it is perceived that way in the policy institutions and politics in general. She says that she believes that were the *Stadtteilmütter* to also work with German families, the consultation between immigrants and Germans might be characterized by an asymmetrical relationship between the different parties. The Germans might have trouble receiving consultation from someone they might consider inferior, or otherwise unqualified to advise them. (Interview 7).

In contrast and opposition to this view, most of the women told me that they had also met German women who wished to take part in their work or to receive counseling from them. Furthermore, as Tülay stresses, there also are significant differences between the cultures and social statuses of different immigrant groups. She describes a dynamic hierarchical order in which the different immigrant groups are socially ranked. At the moment she especially sees newer groups from Southeastern Europe, the Roma in particular, to be in a weak position and at the bottom of the hierarchy. On top are the Turkish and Arab groups, who have been in the city for the longest and have established a somewhat stable social network and created supportive cultural institutions for their community. (Interview 7).

The different immigrant groups do not always get along with each other, and it seems that sometimes conflicts are as common between them as they are between immigrant and German groups. Tülay finds the group work that brings women from different minority groups together very important also in terms of relieving tensions between different groups. She said that

> ... [the situation] is pretty delicate. … because sometimes these different cultures really clash, there are a lot of conflicts visible. I hear this from different sources and I see it in the everyday-life. … But what I find really good, in the case of such groups as the ones that we have in the *Stadtteilmütter* project, is that this is a completely new experience for many [of the women]. For example that the Turkish-born and Lebanese-born women now work in one group together. This is a pretty new experience for them, to learn to know and understand each other despite the many prevailing prejudices. These prejudices do not disappear over night, right now for example I notice big tensions between the women in the group. That is not only between the Turks and the Arabs, we have also a Brazilian and two Polish women in the group and all of them have different prejudices, stereotypes, interests and ideas. That is a big topic [in the work of the *Stadtteilmütter*]. (Interview 7).

In the field I also took notice of some tension between the women. I remember an instance, when these tensions became particularly tangible. I was doing a group interview with many women from different Stadtteilmütter groups with different ethnic backgrounds. After asking a couple of general questions about the aspects that the women find most important in their work, it became obvious that one woman was dominating the situation, not letting the other women take part in the discussion, sometimes even interrupting when someone else was speaking. I noticed how some of the women started to look increasingly annoyed by her behavior and wondered if I should interfere in some way. I decided to continue in a normal manner and see how the situation develops. The woman who was dominating the situation clearly wanted to take advantage of the interview situation in order to express her opinions on the matters, which she formulated as universal. The women reacted to the situation in very different ways. Some of them engaged in an exchange of arguments with her, while some ignored the whole situation keeping to themselves. One woman I already knew from the Schillerkiez team meetings approached me after the interview, apologizing for her colleague and suggesting that we could organize another appointment, if some of my questions had remained unanswered. (Interview 4).

This incident illustrates the dynamics that guide interview situations and how the diverse personalities of the women become visible in situations like the one I describe.

The women seemed to take initiative and to place value on handling such situations appropriately and make sure the interview questions get answered properly. On the other hand, it could be interpreted that not all the women agreed with what the woman dominating the discussion was saying and wanted to express their views on the matter too. Whether the woman approached me afterward because she felt she did not have the chance to say what she wanted or because she wanted to be nice to me is hard to tell. Perhaps it was a combination of the two things. Interesting are the ways that the women handle such conflict situations. I believe that it was not only the things she was saying but also the dominant manner of the woman that annoyed the other women in the situation. She was not behaving in a respectful manner, and she did not care what the other women thought about the topic. By doing so she violated the social norms of appropriate behaviour and politeness.

Value conflicts are mostly caused by matters of moral norms. In their team meetings the women discuss sensitive issues that have to do with sexuality, gender roles, freedom and independence of the children, alcohol consumption, media and the like. Arguments leading to conflicts have concerned situations in which the women have disagreed on how a situation in one of the families they are helping should be handled. For example in one meeting one of the women reported that in a family she visited one of the sons, already over 18 years old, had tried cannabis and the mother was worried about this. The Arab mothers expressed deep concern on the matter, but several other women did not find a reason to worry in a harmless experiment, which they saw as a normal part or teenage curiosity and rebellion. Such issues can cause a surprising amount of turmoil in the community and spread to schools and kindergartens too. As Tülay told me, sometimes issues had gotten so bad that the Arab women would refuse to go to an *Elternabend* (an evening for the parents organised by the school) if the Turkish mothers would be there or vice versa. Such arguments can originate in a school meeting, at the *Stadtteilmütter* group or similar setting, where the different groups come together.

After discussing the topic further, Tülay concludes that it is exactly the co-operation and working together that facilitates the creation of harmonious relationships between the different groups and diminishes prejudices and hostility, at the same time making people more open toward intercultural dialogue, also in relation to the German majority culture. I cannot help but wonder, if also including Germans in the work of the project might not further help solve issues of social alienation and social deprivation of families

as well as value conflicts that are bound to emerge in settings where these different groups constantly encounter each other in schools, kindergartens, in their neighbourhood and so forth. In light of the theory I have introduced in chapter three, we can gain insight to the ways values work in such a pluralistic community. It seems that when values are hierarchically positioned in their respective fields they normally do not cause conflict between different groups. In the context of Neukölln, however, situations are bound to come about where the different values collide. Instead of avoiding value conflicts the *Stadtteilmütter* project works through such conflicts by providing an environment where the different viewpoints can be discussed and coming to a mutual understanding is the goal toward which the women work. The group meetings provide a safe context for discussing these matters, which might decrease the amount of conflicts that break out in less controllable ways in everyday encounters. Along the other women Tülay also emphasizes friendship as an important tool for fighting stereotypes, prejudice and fear of the foreign, and sees teamwork as facilitating the formation of friendships.

In the meetings the women learn through dialogue about the equal value of different cultures, languages and religions and the different lifestyles of people. Through these encounters with each other they also learn to accept, if not appreciate, the plurality of viewpoints and how to go about them. Excluding Germans from the programme maintains the distance between immigrants and ethnic Germans. The project helps the women and their families to improve their social situation and the quality of life in their neighborhood, but ethnic classification still prevails in the worldviews of many through such policy trends that treat immigrant groups and Germans in a segregated manner. Despite the obvious arguments that back this way of classifying the population[21] that often see this to be beneficial for the immigrants because of their "special" needs, there is also a clear paradox inherent in the view that aims to fight segregation, but at the same time applies the very same concepts in practice. It makes sense to design such projects for immigrants in order to facilitate their integration, but it might be important to consider also a way to facilitate contact between the women and ethnically German women. This does not necessarily have to mean opening the project for also German women, but ways of interaction could be planned as a side project.

21 Differences between the reasons for social deprivation as well as the slightly different problems that the Germans have in comparison to immigrants back this view. Tülay mentions that for example immigrants are suffering from unemployment relatively more than the Germans and that on the other hand familial problems such as child neglicence is more common among Germans and practically non-existent among immigrant groups.

Regarding the ethnic classification Tülay explains that there has been some discussion about an "intercultural opening" of the bureaucratic and social sector, but that these discussions have remained only talk, and have not, at least yet, come to influence policy making in practice.

5.2 From the Ghetto to the Kiez

Today's peripheral places are found in all societies and often even in the heart of them; in capital cities, blooming metropolises. Slums, favellas, ghettos and parallel societies, all these frequently used terms describe backward places and their 'miserable' residents: human communities portrayed as leading an inhumane life. I mention the category of periphery because it is strongly associated with negative attributes that can bring about humiliation in the residents of such areas, as well as provoke negative attitudes toward the people inhabiting such areas. Communities inhabiting "peripheries" are often referred to as old-fashioned and uncivilized as opposed to civilized and modern. Sometimes these views are internalized by the people to an extent that they seek to relieve this stigmatization through conscious efforts toward change in their social status and role.

Even if Neukölln is portrayed as a periphery or a ghetto in the eyes of the majority, it seems to evoke very different kinds of associations in my informants. Comparing Neukölln either to their home countries or to other parts of Berlin or Germany, the women found the district's pluralism a richness, and Neukölln an open-minded, inclusive and good place to live. One woman put it like this:

> I find it really great here [in Berlin], especially in Neukölln … One can choose from a lot of different things. We have to get by with the German culture, that is clear, but other than that, during our free time, for personal enjoyment, we have a lot [to choose from] … other cultures too. That is also really interesting. One can identify with that too, and compare that with the culture from your own country, or take only some aspects of other cultures for the personal development. This I find somehow good. Nowadays I am at home here. (Interview 1).

The other women described Neukölln in a very similar manner, and by doing so seemed to reverse the popular images of plurality as a negative feature to that of a positive and a desired one. This citation also reveals the value of a kind of cosmopolitan self-cultivation through learning about other cultures. It describes an individualistic view, where personal freedom to choose from different things according to one's preferences is experienced as something essentially good. From the point of view of value conflicts

and making “tragic” moral choices, this account sees the situation as less dramatic and brings out its positive aspects. The description the woman gave could also be interpreted as describing a situation in which a morality of reproduction prevails. The plurality of cultures is experienced as a positive aspect of one's everyday life as long as value conflicts do not come about.

The image of closed “parallel societies” that do not interact with the outside world proved not to apply to the women I interviewed. In their expressions of interest and genuine enthusiasm toward learning about other cultures and languages, they illustrated a general mindset that seemed to be everything but exclusive or narrow. They explained that although some Germans have fear toward immigrants and their culture, and that some German parents tell their children not to play with the immigrant children because they have “different values” (apparently this has happened in local schools), mostly people are able to live together in harmony and respect each others' cultures. They emphasized that one of the most important of their assignments is to tell the parents that all people are equal and that “we all live together”. Parents have to teach their children to treat everyone equally. They also said that when people from different ethnic groups are in interaction with each other from an early age on, fears and racism do not develop. Therefore contact between different ethnic, religious and cultural groups is important in order to facilitate a harmonious living together.

This aspect was also observed by Lamya Kaddor, when she was faced with a situation of teaching religion to a “mixed” class of both German and Muslim children. Normally the two groups are taught separately, but due to a lack of resources the school had to put the two groups together. In the beginning of the semester she sensed a lot of antipathy and tension between the students. One of the German children had even announced to the whole class that “Mrs. Kaddor, you foreigners steal our (the Germans') jobs and kill other people!” (2011, 125). After the first weeks the atmosphere in the class started to improve. To quote Kaddor: “At the end of the semester the same boy said “I want to still say something to you [the other pupils], and you Mrs. Kaddor. What I said about foreigners and jobs and so on, I apologize for that.”” (Ibid., 127). This illustrates how contact with other ethnic groups is not only important for immigrants or their children but also to Germans. At the end of a long interview one of the mothers explained to me regarding her children that she finds it extremely important that the children integrate into the German society and learn to respect the German way of life and be grateful for

the opportunity to live in the country. She said that “they [her children] should really respect the country and be able to appreciate that they are here and all. Would a German go to our country the same would also apply.” (Interview 3).

The women also compared their countries of origin to life in Germany. They did this in terms of material well-being or safety for example, but also ideologically and morally. They made moral arguments about whether their country of origin is “safe”, “open” or “tolerant”. Some highlighted that their home society is very modern and that many Western values such as equality, liberty and freedom of speech are commonly recognized (for example about Lebanon and Tunis). Others gave the opposite account and emphasized the aspects of their home societies that are not as good. A Polish woman noted that the country is more conservative because of the Catholic faith (Interview 5), and an Indian woman criticized conservative and patriarchal aspects of the Indian society. But she also pointed out that Western media creates a distorted image of immigrants and their countries that provokes racism and prejudices. (Interview 4).

The images of their countries of origin that the women have seemed to be well balanced. They did not idealize them or dream about going back. They described Neukölln as their home despite the hardships and conflicts that they and members of their community have experienced in Germany. They explained that during visits to their home country they miss Berlin. The aspects that they missed about Berlin were the exciting life in the city, their friends and everyday routines. They also told that they noticed a change in themselves during such visits. “You go back and you notice that you have changed. You don't think in the same way anymore, and some of the things people do seem weird. That is normal too. But can be sad too.” (Interview 3). Also another woman had noticed this, she said that “one has to get along with the people. With some of my old friends who still live there, we don't have anything in common [anymore]. You try because you don't want to break old ties, but you have changed.” (Interview 5). What most of them did mention though was the weather of their home countries that they miss in the Berlin rain.

The women clearly emphasized that they had attained new values, new ideas and new interests that did not fit in the old frame of reference anymore. Some had felt ashamed or even guilty about that. One of the women, admitting that she has taken on a lot of German habits and sometimes for example by mistake said some things in German over

at Skype to her relatives in Lebanon, she said that change does not really matter, it is more important to stay in contact. “I speak always with my family through Skype or the Internet, and my girlfriends too. This way we don't notice the change. I am always the same person, even if I learn new things and gather new experiences. You still stay the same person. That is my opinion.” (Interview 2.) This comment entails a moral argument, it suggests that morally appropriate behaviour requires maintaining social relationships. In this view, change and taking on new influences are not seen as negative developments as long as they do not lead to a violation of the higher value of maintaining social relationships.

These testimonies describe the women's attitudes toward German community of value as well as toward cultural diversity in general. It seems that they have internalized the value of equality and hold it in paramount importance as a guiding principle in their everyday life in the pluralistic community they live in. However, it is also noteworthy that some of the opinions they give might be guided by a logic of appropriateness. By this I mean that they might give accounts that they have either come to view as desired by the interviewer or by the policy institution. The accounts could also be interpreted as a direct response to circulating discourses that portray immigrants as ignorant, ungrateful or disrespectful toward their host society. This would mean that the women are concerned with the public image they have and the values it assigns to them. Through counter narratives the women assert their own view in response to the dominant German one in order to positively influence their image, and to break stereotypes. At the same time this would show how important acceptance by the majority society is for them.

5.3 Generations

The women seemed to be motivated to integrate well and to meet moral standards especially for the sake of their children. They emphasized that they wanted to facilitate a harmonious living in Germany for their children and to make life easier for them. At the same time they also found cultural continuity and teaching their children about their cultural heritage, values and traditions important. They expressed worry about their children not learning about their roots and the ways of life of their parents and grandparents. One woman explained this aspect to me like this:

> My children are born here. I always try to go [with them] to our home country. We always go there, well, not every year because it is expensive, but I try to go

> there with my children. For example, last time we were there two years ago. I took my children to [see] my [old] school, where I studied and to the place were my playground and my swimming hall are. I showed them the places, and [explained] what used to be here, what used to be there. I speak with my children. They know already, even though they are Germans, they have German passports and all, but they know already that they are Lebanese first and after comes German. (Interview 5).

Many of the women said that it is really important to explain about the home country and the relatives who still live there and their lifestyles to the children. “One should speak with the children. Some families do not do that, and that is not good. This way the children do not know where their parents and grandparents come from”. (Interview 1). This kind of behaviour was seen as morally condemnable because it can lead to conflicts in the family and loss of tradition and cultural values. The women seemed to think that it is also their children's right to learn about their roots and heritage, and that parents who neglect this aspect in bringing up their children are considered irresponsible. Knowing one's cultural background, traditional values and the meaning of everyday-life practices as well as traditional ceremonies is seen as facilitating “rootedness” and a more healthy self-image and identity among the second and third generations. The women pointed out that, if the younger people do not know about these things through their families and other members of their ethnic group they are more vulnerable to racism, prejudice, exclusion and stigmatization.

The women also noted that young people who lack socialization and acculturation to their traditional culture are at risk of constructing unrealistic and mythical images of their cultures of origin, and are easily manipulated to think in extreme ways about them. As Tülay explained to me, many youngsters who have very little contact with their parental culture tend to idealize it. Such idealization means constructing an unrealistic image of it, which serves as a means of escaping the hardships that one encounters in daily life at school and in relation to the German peer group. Also the opposite kind of an image of the parental culture as a burden, a backward, conservative, and even harmful worldview that should be avoided and fought against is in some cases the result of one-sided and demeaning images of “foreignness” that circulate in German media and public discussions, and which thus enter the conceptions youth make of the world. (Interview 7).

This aspect is especially timely to the Muslim groups because negative representations of Islam and Muslims are abundant, and can cause strong reactions in the second and third generations. One of the Muslim mothers explained that

> I have explained to my children that we are Muslims, but that is good news: Muslims are not bad people, we are just like everybody else. Islamic life is a good life, it is a beautiful life. Even though we unfortunately often hear the opposite. I have also explained that we as Kurds have our culture, our language, customs and traditional clothing and dance. I gave the traditional clothes as a present to my children but they didn't want to wear them, they thought they were too heavy. They also don't want to dance. In Islam the children respect their parents and siblings and take care of them till they die. My children know this already. (Interview 2).

This woman places great emphasis on family relations and in passing on the right kinds of values to her children. She also finds it important to describe cultural heritage and Islam in their everyday-life forms in order to fight the influence of populistic images of them on her children. In the previous chapter I have described that, although the mothers do not seem worried about it, they do not wish for their children to take on aspects of German lifestyles that they find negative. In addition they are critical also toward some aspects of their own cultures. Many of the women talked to me about how they had married really young and had their first child in their own words “too early”. None of the women wished that for their children. They were all very careful to explain this to their children in order to give them a chance for a better life. Despite their criticism toward this aspect of the traditional marriage institution they did not speak against the institution itself. This example shows how sometimes old customs are revised or influenced by new elements and values, which results in adjustments in the practices instead of their complete rejection. The women construct an image of what is good and desirable based on the experiences they have made and the ideas they have been introduced to in Germany and combine these elements in the moral landscapes they construct. Entailed are often “conflicting” values, which however are harmoniously incorporated and do not foment struggle in most cases. A different matter is of course how their German born children will react to the idea of arranged marriage.

5.4 Moral landscapes: what the women understand as good and valuable

During my first meeting with the women working in the Schillerkiez-team I paid attention to the ways in which the women introduced themselves to me. Instead of telling me about what they do or what they have studied for example, the women told

about their families to me. That was the first contact I had with them. After introducing myself shortly, the women enthusiastically told me things like ”I have a daughter your age” and ”I had my first child at your age” and ”my son is also interested in social sciences”. They approached the social encounter with ”family first”. I found this interesting especially because in the general German way family matters are considered private and I never experienced a similar first encounter with a member of the majority group. In Finland as in Germany, the general way of introducing oneself is to tell about your occupation, profession or studies.

Based on my own experiences I might say that this is perhaps even more emphasized in Germany. When I was desperately searching for a room in a shared apartment, *Wohngemeinschaft*, I visited numerous apartments all over Berlin. These visits, aimed at finding a suitable flatmate for the people already living in the apartment, followed a particular pattern. Everyone introduced themselves shortly and then more practical aspects of the household were discussed. In these meetings I noticed what an important role one's chosen field of studies or occupation played in making the first impression. People often hoped to find a 'like-minded' person to live with, who would ideally be working or studying in the same or in a related field. In such meetings and when living with people in Germany, family matters were hardly ever discussed. This is of course also an issue of age group because most of the people I met in my many house visits were younger than my informants, and most of them did not yet have children of their own (or if they did, I would not know about it). Though, it was also other relevant social relationships that were left unmentioned during such meetings. People would not for example explain their relationship status or mention that their partner is spending significant amounts of time in the flat, although this information could be cosidered relevant for someone considering moving in the same household. What I am getting at here is that this and several other observations I made suggest that the women working in the *Stadtteilmütter* project place significant emphasis on their family life and social relationships, especially when compared with the German majority.

A recurrent theme that was highly emphasized by all the women I interviewed was the importance of social networks that they saw as crucial for the well-being of families. This aspect was stressed so much that all other aspects of the life of immigrants in Neukölln were linked to it. The kind of a community that the women described as “healthy” or “good” is one where solidarity and empathy are present in everyday life.

The women emphasized the importance of building a community through providing a supportive social network for families that are alienated from the rest of society.

They described a culturally pluralistic community, where one is able to try and learn knew things. Openness toward different ways of life and religious and cultural freedom were also emphasized. Good life for them seems to be an ability to lead a life respecting the values of their culture of origin, but at the same time cherishing modernity and ways of life in Germany, and the doors that they open to the women themselves as well as their children and grandchildren. In a perfect situation different values and cultural ideas would not be mutually exclusive, but could be harmoniously incorporated.

6 Conclusions

In my discussion I have addressed the issues of social policy, values, morality and cultural change that are relevant to current anthropological debates. The discussion on values and morality in relation to cultural change links to a more classic anthropological research tradition on cultural continuity and intergenerational transmission of cultural customs and worldviews. I have taken this discussion to a more contemporary framework of culturally pluralistic Germany, and looked at how interaction between cultural worldviews in the new sociocultural environment of immigrants manifests itself in negotiations between cultural values that guide human behaviour understood as inherently moral.

After introducing my approach, research questions, and the *Stadtteilmütter* project, I applied a historical perspective to the scrutiny of values and social categorizations that the German community of value holds important. In doing so I showed how such a community remains ethnically defined in the German context. This definition of the German nation produces a discourse on the otherness of immigrants that relates to public discussions on integration. I then moved on to discuss how these values and categories influence political discussions and policy making, and thus the making of integration policy and social policy in practice. A fantasy of a unified nation that shares the same culture and values becomes visible throughout my discussion in relation to immigrants who are subjected to moral arguments that are based on this ideal.

In chapter three I introduced the structuralist approach to studying cultural change from Dumont, Robbins and Sahlins, and combined it with theories of values and morality from Robbins. The question of the structure of value relations was brought to the fore in

the last parts of the chapter. The theoretical idea about human life as profoundly moral was also introduced. In his formulation of a theory of morality of reproduction that marks the everyday life of cultural continuity, and that of morality of freedom that is constitutive of times of cultural change, Joel Robbins explains how human existence and the choices we make are in times of change experienced as essentially moral. I also theoretically discussed the concepts of alienation and humiliation as symptomatic of cultural change and intercultural encounters. I have applied these analytical concepts in structuring my analysis, and understanding the practical effects that result from a situation in which people's cultural values and categories do not anymore apply to the world they describe.

In chapters four and five I applied these theories to the analysis of the data I collected during my fieldwork in Berlin. The theoretical formulations helped me to look into the ways in which cultural values guide immigrants' daily lives in their new German environment, and the conception of that reality they have constructed that is based on their traditional worldviews and the new cultural values and categories they have adopted in interaction with other cultures in Berlin, most notably the German "modernity".

The structure of values as hierarchically positioned seems to apply in this case. The choices made by my informants and immigrants in the examples from secondary sources I used, seemed to aim at the realization of dominant values that they hold important. Most of the time they attempted to make moral decisions that would respect both the "old" dominant value, such as maintaining social relationships, but at the same time attained new functional values that they applied in their everyday life and decision making. The way this was done, respected the hierarchical order of these values, and hence enabled these people to incorporate new values without violating the more paramount ones. A good example of such a case is the emphasis the women placed on not breaking old social ties to their country of origin, despite the awareness of a change in their lifestyles and worldviews they expressed. It seemed that the new values and categories the women had adopted, were added to accompany the old ones, rather than replacing them completely. Here Sahlins' theoretical idea about cultural change as inherently cultural seems to apply. Although immigrants change their worldviews and adopt new values and categories, they do so based on the logic of their existing cultural understandings of the world.

In some cases, however, the structural relationship between values had changed and other times cultural institutions seemed to have gone through subtle changes in the process of adjusting to the new sociocultural (and political and legal) context. The traditional marriage institution and respect toward elderly members of community are such examples. The women placed emphasis on the individual development of themselves as well as their children through education and interaction with members of the German majority, and placed this value higher in the organization of their everyday lives than that of safeguarding traditional ways of life and their children from attaining bad influences from other cultures. But the communal aspect of maintaining old customs and understandings of morally appropriate behaviour were still present in their ways of understanding good life. The “old” and “new” values were not seen mutually exclusive or in contradiction with one another, which enabled their incorporation into the moral landscape. Depending on the frame of reference the women would emphasize more the one or the other, but in their everyday routines the modern ones seemed to gain higher functional status.

The purpose of the work of the Neighbourhood mothers is portrayed differently on the level of policy discourse and in the accounts given by the women. Despite this, these two views are not in contradiction with one another. The policy discourse treats immigrants' cultural distance from the German majority and segregation of immigrants as problems, and sees integration as a key to solving them. The women on the other hand, see community building, providing a social support group, and forming new friendships as the most important aspects of their work. In my analysis of the project through the lens of structuralist theories of change, value and morality, I have been able to construct an understanding of this situation that helps us grasp how different cultural values and morals work together in such situations. In the policy discourse, significant values and categories of the German community of value culminate, such as cultural unity and homogeneity, and the paradoxical social classification that treats Germans and foreigners in a segregated manner. In the women's views the value of intercultural exchange, community and social relations are highlighted. The reason why these different views do not seem to cause problems, is that they are not set on a collision course with one another. In the public sphere the policy discourse is dominant and in the practice of the project the women's understanding reigns. These values can be harmoniously integrated into the practices of the project and so conflicts are avoided.

6.1 Applicability

My research has also produced practical knowledge that, in addition to providing an understanding of social policy practices and the experiences and worldviews of my informants, introduces a critical reading of the reproduction of conventions and social categorizations in policy making that hinder the making of new innovative policy. The *Stadtteilmütter* project benefits greatly the community it targets and the women whom it employs, but a problem is located on the level of policy discourse and the more general framing of policy making that fails to acknowledge the problematic inherent in ethnic classifications and the idea of a homogenous nation. These ideas are smuggled into the assumed new ways of addressing social problems through public policy. Although the project enhances the social well-being of the different immigrant groups that inhabit Neukölln, it ends up reproducing the ethnic classification that separates 'foreigners' from ethnic Germans.

Only an open dialogue and interaction between the majority group and minorities can facilitate integration, and the women I interviewed seemed to be perfectly aware of this. Along many other policy projects, the *Stadtteilmütter* project fails to promote a view on integration that would also involve members of the majority group. The fear of conflicts or breaking of conventions does not serve as an adequate reason for this social classification, and neither does the argument based on the different causes of problems for different population groups. As described earlier, conflicts exist also between immigrant groups, and the groups can in no sense be understood to be closer to each other than the German majority, culturally speaking. In most cases the women's only shared language was German, and the things connecting them are experiences they have made in Germany. This observation suggests that it should not be a problem to also let those Germans who show interest in the work participate in the programme.

The knowledge my study has produced could in an ideal case be applied in further developing such social policy concepts that aim at integration of immigrants. By making the social categories visible as cultural constructs rather than real things, my study can help in dismantling conventions that are in the way of more inclusive ways of facilitating the well-being of individuals and families in weaker social and economic positions. Despite openness, power relations and the relative statuses that different groups have on the social ladder have to naturally be taken under consideration in order to make sure that such hierarchies do not reproduce themselves in policy practices. In

the case of the *Stadtteilmütter* such a reproduction does not seem to be the case, despite some tension and minor conflicts in the groups, the work in the project seems to rather diminish than reinforce such hierarchies.

6.2 Possible courses for further study

There are several ways that my study could be continued further. I have touched upon a variety of the aspects of the immigrants' lives as well as values and morality as culturally significant elements of the human condition. This provides a range of possible courses for going deeper into one of the topics I have touched upon. The issue of social classification in social policy is an important topic in the field of anthropology of policy that could be studied further in the German context as well as elsewhere. Such a study could significantly benefit policy making both in practice as well as the intellectual understanding of it.

The immigrant experience that my study has described, can also be of use for the making of, an understanding of the consequences of immigration policies. And this aspect could be taken under further scrutiny. Furthermore, it would be extremely interesting to conduct a study on the relations between different ethnic minorities in Neukölln (and other contexts) with a focus on the value struggles that mark their lives.
The theory of values and morality as essentially cultural and as an important aspect of understanding the process and results of cultural change is another wide topic for futher anthropological study. My study has only scratched the surface, and the research could be continued further, both in the context of Berlin's immigrant communities and among immigrant communities in other countries. The intergenerational aspect of cultural change also opens an angle that could be further explored.

My study has focused on a group of immigrants who are relatively well integrated and who are not outside of the scope of social infrastructure of the city. As my informants from time to time pointed out, there are also immigrant families who are more protective of their cultural customs and traditions, and who make conscious efforts in order to avoid contact with the German majority for what seems like moral reasons. It would be interesting to conduct a similar study among these people. The conclusions might be very different from the ones I am presenting here.

This last observation is a good one to end with. It reminds us of the specificness of each case study, and the variation between different groups and different segments of society

even among immigrants inhabiting the same borough. Despite this variation, I would like to claim that the structuralist theories on values and cultural change as well as those of morality are useful tools to be applied in such an analysis on immigrants' moral landscapes.

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Photographs

Image 1: *Google Maps* data 2015. Neukölln on the map of Berlin. <https://www.google.de/maps/place/Neuk%C3%B6lln/data=!4m2!3m1!

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Image 2: *Google Maps* data 2015. Schillerkiez on the map of Neukölln. Markings made by the author. <https://www.google.de/maps/place/Schillerkiez,+Berlin/@52.4791143,13.4313655,14z/data=!4m2!3m1!1s0x47a84fbe00d93fb1:0xe4d68caecdeae2fd>

Image 3: *Stadtteilmütter, Diakoniewerk*-Simeon GgmbH 2014. Stadtteilmütter cooking evening at the community center Warthe-Mahl.

Image 4: *Stadtteilmütter, Diakoniewerk*-Simeon GgmbH 2014. Stadtteilmütter cooking evening at the community center Warthe-Mahl.

Image 5: *Stadtteilmütter, Diakoniewerk*-Simeon GgmbH 2014. Stadtteilmütter at their weekly team meeting at the Elternzentrum at Oderstrasse.

APPENDIX: INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Interview 1. 12.5.2014; 12-14 o'clock.

Interview 2. 13.5.2014; 12-14 o'clock.

Interview 3. 15.5.2014; 10-12 o'clock.

Interview 4. 15.5.2014; 12-14 o'clock.

Interview 5. 16.5.2014; 9-12 o'clock.

Interview 6. 27.5.2014; 10-11.15 o'clock. Maria Macher, Project Coordinator.

Interview 7. 4.6.2014; 13-14.15 o'clock. Tülay Savas, Schillerkiez-team leader.